John Carter Brown.

4316

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cf p.61 . 2d issue has catch word
"due"

Relief of vignette on title

94 37

Y. num: 39.

A TRVE DISCOVRSE OF THE PRESENT ESTATE OF VIRGINIA, and the ſucceſſe of the affaires there till the 18 of *Iune*. 1614.

TOGETHER.

WITH A RELATION OF THE ſeuerall Engliſh Townes and forts, the aſſured hopes of that countrie and the peace *concluded with the Indians.*

The Chriſtening of *Powhatans* daughter *and her mariage with an Engliſh-man.*

Written by RAPHE HAMOR the yonger, late Secretarie in that Colony.

Alget, qui non ardet.

Printed at London by IOHN BEALE for WILLIAM WELBY dwelling at the ſigne of the *Swanne in Pauls Church-yard.* 1615.

JOHN CARTER BROWN

TO THE TRVLY

Honorable, and right worthy Knight,
Sr. *Thomas Smith*, Gouernour of the *East India*,
Muscouia, North-west passages, Somer Islands
Companies, and Treasurer for the first
Colony in VIRGINIA.

Honourable Sir:

HAuing in the time of my residence in *Virginia* (as it is true my t imployment then inuited mee hereunto) collected for my owne vse and benefit, some few occurrents and accidents, which are obuious in all new imployments, a thing which perhaps but few regard there to busie themselues with, and fewer heer to peruse: I resolued indeed only to delight my selfe, and som who I am bound to be thankefull vnto in that kinde, with the vnworthy view of them, the rather, because I haue seen many publications & impressions of tho se affairs, by those, whose books I should be proud to beare after them: but such is the peruersenes of mankinde, such their incredulity of euery thing, saue what their eies tell them to be true: yea, such their backwardnes in the persuit of horable enterprises, that though there should bee no end of writing, but euery day should drawe foorth his line, and euery line his reall encouragement, as mine may in the state of the Colony, as it now standeth, it were hard to say whe-

 ther

ther one of so many thousands as abound in *England*, might be thereby moued to ioine with others right worthyly disposed, to become a harty and deuoted furtherer of an action so noble, as is this, which thing if I faile in effecting, I shall not lose much labour, since when I vndertook this taske, I imagined no such thing: but meerly my owne delight and content. It shall be reward enough for me to expresse my indeauours there, though not equall with the best, yet not idly mispent.

I labor not to seduce or betray any into an action or imployment, wherein once personally ingaged, they should haue any cause to blame me, neither would I force the helpe of any mans purse, more then voluntary, if I could beyond my art, vse such effectuall perswasions.

There are enough in my opinion, and those the worthyest of *England* already vnited, as the way is now laid downe, to perfect this businesse, whose indeuours, if they proceed without backslyding, and therein persist some fewe yeers longer, shall be requited and paid with such treble intereſt, as it shall not repent him that is now most cold in the pursuit, to haue refused more Competitors to be sharers in the returnd profit.

Your noble selfe Sir, euer emulous of vertue, and honourable Enterprises, should shine to the world more noble in the vpholding of this imployment, though it apeared, as in the beginning, full of discouragement, which neuerthe-

lesse

leſſe, I know your ſelfe reſts ſo aſſured is now more neer, then euer to perfection. Your innate and habituall vertue needs no ſpurre, your honourable indeauours well witneſſe the ſame: would God (as is yours) al mens offrings, though not ſo ample, were ſo free, ſo hartily ſacrificed: then could they not thus long haue wanted their rewards, perhaps for no other end detained, but to make others, a thing which God profeſſeth to loue and delight in, more cheerful giuers. Accept (worthy Sir) this vnworthy Treatiſe, the beſt teſtimony of my gratuity, which as yet my diſabilities may render. Trueth ſhall ſhroud and patronize it, from the maleuolent detracting multitude; whoſe blame though it incurre their ſhame and imputation, it ſcorns, and returns vnto them.

My zeale to the Action, though I may ſeeme to haue forſaken it, giues mee the heart to publiſh, what I know, to the world: To your ſelfe particularly your own worth, and deſerts to me, irrequitable, graunt but that fauourable acceptation, which euer accompanies your worth; and I ſhal euer acknowledge my ſelfe wholy yours, in hope wherof I conclude with my ſeruice: & reſt,

At your commaund to be diſpoſed off;

RALPH HAMOR.

To the Reader.

Ignorant, or enuious, if you be Readers: it is not to satisfie the best of you that I now wright, a more seasonable time I must take to imbarque my selfe in so rough a Sea and come off safe: onely his authoritie (who hath power to compell my selfe and duety) hath commaunded me to satisfie his affections (couetous of the dignitie and truth of this pious Plantation) with these particulars: that they are got abroade, and become publike, was no purpose in their first conception, though some respect haue made them so now: A naked and vnstudied discourse, I acknowledge, without notes reserued (but in Memorie) to helpe it: yet thus much I doe auow, that it hath duety and truth to make good all other the wants, and imperfections of it: I will labour in no further excuse.

Concerning the Virginie pious worke it selfe, how it hath thriued vnder the commaund both of Sir Thomas Gates Knight, Gouernour, and Sir Thomas Dale Knight, and Marshall of the Collonie, these three yeeres and more: let me say, if (setting aside thine owne ouerweening and singularity) thy vnhoodded eye, can now at length looke vpon it (after so many yeeres of her patience and passions) thou wilt easily acknowledge, whose finger hath the alone guidance of it, and then (I doubt nothing) be pleased to here thy selfe intreated (out of those great plenties and hauings which God hath lent thee) to spare a little little portion to the full setling and finishing

vp

vp a Sanctum Sanctorum *an holy house, a* Sanctuary *to him, the* God *of the* Spirits, *of all flesh, amongst such poore and innocent seduced* Sauages *as we treate off, on whom let our hopes be, that it hath vouchsafed him now to be sufficiently reuenged for their forefathers Ingratitude and treasons,* and now in his appointed time to desced in mercie, to lighten them that sit in darkenes, and in the shaddow of death, and to direct their feete in the waies of peace.

Sure yong though in yeeres and knowledge I may be said to be, yet let me remember, to thee perhaps much knowledge Reader, *what the wisest man that euer writ or speake (excepting him that was both God and man) hath said, that such who bring others vnto righteousnesse shal themselues shine as the stars in the firmament. And doubtlesse I doe beleeue, euen amongst the rest of my* Articles, *when these poore Heathens shall be brought to entertaine the honour of the name, and glory of the Gospell of our blessed Sauiour, when they shall testifie of the true and euerliuing God, and Iesus Christ to be their Saluation, their knowledge so inlarged and sanctified, that without him they confesse their eternal death: I do beleeue I say (and how can it be otherwise?) that they shal breake out and cry with rapture of so inexplicable mercie: Blessed be the King and Prince of England, and blessed be the English Nation, and blessed for euer be the most high God possessor of Heauen and earth, that sent these English as Angels to bring such glad tidings amongst vs. These will be doubtlesse the empaticke effects and exultation of this so Christian worke, and may these nothing moue? Alas let* Sanballat *and* Tobiah, Papists *and* Plairis, Ammonites *and* Horonites, *the scumme and dregges of the people, let them mocke at this holy Businesse, they that be filthie, let them be filthie still, and let such swine wallow in the mire, but let not the rod of the wicked fall vpon the lot of the righteous, let not them*

shrinke

ſhrinke backe, and call in their helpes from this ſo glorious enterpriſe, which the Prophet Iſaiah *cals, the declaring of God to the left hand, but let them that know the worke, reioice and be glad in the happie ſucceſſe of it, proclaiming that it is the euerliuing God that raigneth in* England, *and vnto the ends of the world.*

Excuſe me (curteous Reader) if caried beyond my purpoſe, I declaime paſſionately in this paſſiue and innocently deſpiſed worke, which I am ſure is ſo full of goodneſſe, and haue bin almoſt ſix yeers a Sufferer *and eye witnes of his now well nigh atchieued happineſſe, the full and vnſtaind reportory of euery accident whereof euen from his beginning, together with the cauſes of the backwardnes, in proſperity thus log, touching at the miraculous deliuery of the ſcattered company, caſt vpon the* Bermudas, *when thoſe fortunate Iſlands like ſo many faire Neriades which receiued our wrackt company, with the death of that pure and noble hearted Gentleman Sir* George Sumers *dieing there, my purpoſe is ſhortly at large to publiſh, that at length ſome one eſcaped Leaper, amongſt ſo many ſaued, may returne backe and pay his vowes of thanks-giuing vnto that euer to be praiſed mercifull prouidence that brought vs thither, vntil when I wiſh thy zealous and feruent thoughts and indeuours to a buſineſſe ſo full of piety, as is this our* Virginie *Plantation.*

RAPHE HAMOR.

A TRVE DISCOVRSE

of the preſent eſtate of Virginia, and the ſucceſſe of the affaires there till the 18 *of Iune.* 1614.

THe many publications and impreſſions of Virginia, an imployment wherein to this day my ſelfe with many other vnſtaid heads & thirſtie after new deſignes, haue bin to vnprofitably ingaged, might iuſtly excuſe my ſilence, did not the filiall duty whereby in all things to the vtmoſt of my power I am bound to obey my Father, compell me vnwillingly thereunto: A taske I know by himſelfe and others, meerely becauſe I haue bin *Oculatus teſtis*, thus impoſed vpon me, in the vndertaking and performance whereof, I hartily wiſh that my poore relation, rich onely in truth (as I ſhall cleerely iuſtifie my ſelfe by ele witneſſes alſo) may giue any credit or incouragement to proceede in a buſineſſe ſo full of honour, and worth, whereunto (if there were no ſecondary cauſes) the already publiſht ends, I meane the glory of God in the

conuersion of those Infidels, and the honour of our King and country (which by right may claime at the least their superfluities, from those whom God hath in this world made his dispensors and purse-bearers) might be a sufficient spurre to resolued Christians, especially the state and condition of our collonie, so standing when I left it, and I assure my selfe in this time growne more mature, that an honest hart would euen relent, and mourne to thinke how poorely, I dare not say vnworthily it is prosecuted. It being true that now after fiue yeeres intestine warre with the reuengefull implacable Indians, a firme peace (not againe easily to be broken) hath bin lately concluded, not onely with the nigh bour, and bordering Indidians, as on *Pataomecke*, *Topahanah*, and other Riuers, but euen with that subtill old reuengefull *Powhatan* and all the people vnder his subiection, for all whom *Powhatan* himselfe stands firmely ingaged, by which meanes we shall not onely be furnished with what commodities their countrie yeeldeth, and haue all the helpes they may afforde vs in our indeuours (as they are easily taught, and may by lenitie and faire vsage, as Sir Thomas *Dale* now principall commander there, and most worthy the honour he houlds, is well experienced in their dispositions, and accordingly makes vse of them) be brought, being naturally though ingenious, yet idlely giuē, to be no lesse industrious, nay to exceede our Englisb, especially those which we hitherto and as yet are furnished with, who for the most part no more sensible then beasts, would rather starue in idlenesse (witnesse their former proceedings) then feast in labour, did not the law compell them thereunto, but also which will be most for our benefit, our owne men may without hazard, I might say with security (by selfe-experience) follow their seuerall labours, whereby twentie shall now

be

bee able to performe more then heretofore hath bin fortie.

Though I coniecture and aſſure my ſelfe that yee cannot be ignorant by what meanes this peace hath bin thus happily both for our proceedings and the welfare of the Naturals concluded, yet for the honour of Captain *Argol* whoſe indeuours in the action intituled him moſt worthy, I iudge it no whit impertinēt in my diſcourſe to inſert them, which w th as much breuity as I may, not omitting the circumſtances moſt pertinent and materiall, I ſhall indeuour.

The general letters vpon my knowledge, directed and ſent to the honourable *Virginia* Councell, being moſt of them (though my ſelfe moſt vnworthy) by me penned, haue intimated, how that the euerworthy gentlemā Capt. *Argall* in the heate of our home furies & diſagreements by his beſt experience of the diſpoſi. tiō of thoſe people, partly by gentle vſage & partly by the compoſition & mixture of threats hath euer kept faire & friendly quarter with our neighbours bordering onother riuers of affinity, yea conſanguinity, no leſſe neere then brothers to *Powhatan*, ſuch is his well knowne temper and diſcretion, yea to this paſſe hath he brought them, that they aſſuredly truſt vpon what he promiſeth, and are as carefull in performing their mutuall promiſes, as though they contended to make that *Maxim*, that there is no faith to be held with Infidels, a meere and abſurd *Paradox*: Nay as I haue heard himſelfe relate, who is *fide dignus*, they haue euen bin penſiue and diſcontented with themſelues, becauſe they knew not how to doe him ſome acceptable good turne, which might not onely pleaſure him, but euen be profitable to our whole Collonie, and *Plantation*, yea euer aſſuring him that when the times ſhould preſent occaſion, they would take hold of her forelocke, and be the inſtruments to worke him con-

tent, and euen thus they proued themſelues as honeſt performers, as liberall promiſers. It chaunced *Powhatans* delight and darling, his daughter *Pocahuntas*, (whoſe fame hath euen bin ſpred in England by the title of *Nonparella* of *Virginia*) in her princely progreſſe, if I may ſo terme it, tooke ſome pleaſure (in the abſence of Captaine *Argall* (to be among her friends at *Pataomecke* (as it ſeemeth by the relation I had) imploied thither, as ſhopkeepers to a *Fare*, to exchange ſome of her fathers commodities for theirs, where reſiding ſome three months or longer, it fortuned vpon occaſion either of promiſe or profit, Captaine *Argall* to arriue there, whom *Pocahuntas*, deſirous to renue hir familiaritie with the Engliſh, and delighting to ſee them, as vnknowne, fearefull perhaps to be ſurpriſed, would gladly viſit, as ſhe did, of whom no ſooner had Captaine *Argall* intelligence, but he delt with an old friend, and adopted brother of his *Iapazeus*, how and by what meanes he might procure hir captiue, aſſuring him, that now or neuer, was the time to pleaſure him, if he entended indeede that loue which he had made profeſſion of, that in ranſome of hir he might redeeme ſome of our Engliſh men and armes, now in the poſſeſſion of her Father, promiſing to vſe her withall faire, and gentle entreaty: *Iapazeus* well aſſured that his brother, as he promiſed would vſe her ; curteouſly promiſed his beſt indeuours and ſecreſie to accompliſh his deſire, and thus wrought it, making his wife an inſtrument (which ſex haue euer bin moſt powerfull in beguiling intiſements) to effect his plot which hee had thus laid, he agreed that himſelfe, his wife, and *Pocahuntas*, would accompanie his brother to the water ſide, whether come, his wife ſhould faine a great and longing deſire to goe aboorde, and ſee the ſhippe, which being there three or foure times, before

fore she had neuer seene, and should bee earnest with her husband to permit her: he seemed angry with her, making as he pretended so vnnecessary a request, especially being without the company of women, which deniall she taking vnkindely, must faine to weepe, (as who knows not that women can command teares) whereupon her husband seeming to pitty those counterfeit teares, gaue her leaue to goe aboord, so that it would please *Pochahuntas* to accompany her: now was the greatest labour to win her, guilty perhaps of her fathers wrongs, though not knowne as she supposed to goe with her, yet by her earnest perswasions, she assented: so forthwith aboord they went, the best cheere that could be made was seasonably prouided, to supper they went, merry on all hands, especially *Iapazeus* and his wife, who to expres their ioy, would ere be treading vpō Capt. *Argals* foot, as who should say tis don, she is your own. Supper ended, *Pochahuntas* was lodged in the Gunners roome, bnt *Iapazeus* and his wife desired to haue some conference with their brother, which was onely to acquaint him by what stratagem they had betraied his prisoner, as I haue already related: after which discourse to sleepe they went, *Pochahuntas* nothing mistrusting this policy, who neuertheles being most possessed with feare, and desire of returne, was first vp, and hastened *Iapazeus* to be gon. Capt. *Argall* hauing secretly well rewarded him, with a small Copper kettle, and som other les valuable toies so highly by him esteemed, that doubtlesse he would haue betraied his owne father for them, permitted both him and his wife to returne, but told him, that for diuers considerations, as for that his father had then eigh of our English men, many swords, pieces, and other tooles, which he had at seuerall times by trecherons murdering our men, taken from them,

though of no vse to him, he would not redeliuer, he would reserue *Pocahuntas*, whereat she began to bee exceeding pensiue, and discontented, yet ignorant o the dealing of *Iapazeus*, who in outward appearance was no les discontented that he should be the meanes of her captiuity, much a doe there was to perswade her to be patient, which with extraordinary curteous vsage, by little and little was wrought in her, and so to *Iames* towne she was brought, a messenger to her father forthwith dispached to aduertise him, that his only daughter was in the hands & possession of the English: ther to be kept til such time as he would ransom her with our men, swords, peeces, & other tools treacherously taken from vs: the news was vnwelcome, and troublesom vnto him, partly for the loue he bare to his daughter, and partly for the loue he bare to our men his prisoners, of whom though with vs they were vnapt for any imployment) he made great vse: and those swords, and peeces of ours, (which though of no vse to him) it delighted him to view, and looke vpon.

He could not without long aduise & delibertion with his Councell, resolue vpon any thing, and it is true, we heard nothing of him till three moneths after, by perswasions of others he returned vs seauen of our men, with each of them a Musket vnseruiceable, and by them sent vs word, that whensoeuer wee pleased to deliuer his daughter, he would giue vs in satisfaction of his iniuries done to vs, and for the rest of our peeces broken and stolne from him, 500 Bushells of Corne, and be for euer friends with vs, the men, and Peeces in part of payment we receiued: and returned him answere, that his daughter was very well, and kindely intreated, and so should be howsoeuer he dealt with vs: but we could not beleeue that the rest of our Arms were either lost, or stolne from him, and therefore till he returned them all, we would not by any meanes deliuer his daughter,

ter, and then it ſhould be at his choice, whether he would eſtabliſh peace, or continue enemies with vs. This anſwere as it ſeemed, pleaſed him not very wel, for we heard no more from him till in March laſt, when with Captaine *Argalls* Shippe, and ſome other Veſſells belonging to the Colony, Sir *Thomas Dale* with an hundred and fifty men well appointed, went vp into his owne Riuer, where his chiefeſt habitations were, and carried with vs his daughter, either to moue them to fight for her, if ſuch were their courage and boldneſſe, as hath been reported, or to reſtore the reſidue of our demands, which were our peeces, ſwords, tooles. Some of the ſame men which he returned (as they promiſed) ran to him again, and becauſe he had put vs to the trouble to fetch them fiue hundred buſhels of Corne: A great brauado all the way as we went vp the Riuer they made, demaunding the cauſe of our comming thither, which wee tould them was to deliuer *Pocahuntas*, whom purpoſely we had brought with vs, and to receiue our Armes, men, & corn, or elſe to fight with them, burn their howſes, take away their Canoas, breake downe their fiſhing Weares, and doe them what other damages we could: Some of them to ſet a good face on the matter, replied, that if wee came to fight with them? we were welcome, for they were prouided for vs, councelling vs rather to retire (if wee loued our ſafeties) then proceed, bragging, as well they might, that wee had euer had the worſt of them in that Riuer, inſtancing by Capt: *Ratliefe* (not worthy remembring, but to his diſhonor) who, with moſt of his company they betrayed and murthered: we told them ſince they durſt remember vs of that miſchief, vnleſſe they made the better and more ſpeedy agreement, we would now reuenge that trechery, and with this diſcourſe by the way as we went, we proceeded,

and

and had no sooner entred the narrow of the riuer, the channell there lying within shot of the shoare, but they let their arrowes flie amongst vs in the shippe, themselues vnseene to vs, and in the forehead hurt one of our men, which might haue hazarded his life without the present helpe of a skilfull Chirurgion.

Being thus iustly prouoked, we presently manned our boates, went ashoare, and burned in that verie place some forty houses, and of the things we found therein, made freeboote and pillage, and as themselues afterward confest vnto vs, hurt and killed fiue or sixe of their men, with this reuenge satisfying our selues, for that their presumption in shooting at vs, and so the next day proceeded higher vp the Riuer, the Indians calling vnto vs, and demaunding why we went a shoare, burnt their houses, killed and hurt their men, and tooke away their goods. We replied that though we came to them in peaceable manner, and would haue beene glad to haue receiued our demaunds with loue and peace, yet we had hearts and power to take reuenge, and punish where wrongs should be offered, which hauing now don, though not so seuerely as we might, we rested content therewith and are ready to imbrace peace with them if they pleased. Many excuses they seemed to pretend, that they shot not at vs, but (if any such abuse were offered) it was some straggled Indian, ignorant of our pretence in comming to them, affirming that they themselues would be right glad of our loue, and would indeauour to helpe vs to what we came for, which being in the possession of *Powhatan* their King, they would without delay dispatch messengers to him, to know his purpose and pleasure, desiring sure quarter some 24 howers, for so long they pretended it would be before their messengers might returne: this wee graun-

graunted, and what we promiſed, we euer exactly performed, the time now come, we inquired what *Powhatan* would doe, and had for anſwere, that our Engliſhmen lately with him, fearefull to be put to death by vs, were runne away, and ſome of *Powhatans* men ſent abroade in queſt of them, but our ſwords and peeces ſo many as he had ſhould be brought the next day, which meerely to delay time, they bareys in hand the next day they came not, higher vp the riuer we went, and ancored neere vnto the chiefeſt reſidencie *Powhatan* had, at a towne called *Matchcot* where were aſſembled (which we ſaw) about 400 men, well appointed with their bowes and arrowes to welcome vs, here they dared vs to come a ſhoare, a thing which we purpoſed before, ſo a ſhoare we went, our beſt landing being vp a high ſteepe hill which might haue giuen the enemy much aduantage againſt vs, but it ſeemed they as we were vnwilling to begin, and yet would gladly haue bin at blowes, being landed as if they had no ſhew of feare, they ſtirred not from vs, but walked vp and downe, by and amongſt vs, the beſt of them inquiring for our Weroance or king, with whom they would gladly conſult to know the occaſion of our comming thither, whereof when they were informed, they made anſwere that they were there ready to defend themſelues, if we pleaſed to aſſault them, deſiring neuertheleſſe ſome ſmall time to diſpatch two or three men once more to their king, to know his reſolution, which if not anſwerable to our requeſts, in the morning if nothing elſe but blood would then ſatisfie vs, they would fight with vs, and thereby determine our quarrell, which was but a further delay to procure time to carrie away their prouiſions, neuertheleſſe we agreed to this their requeſt, aſſuring them till the next day by noone we would not moleſt, hurt, nor detaine any of them, and then

before we fought, our Drum and Trumpets should giue them warning: vpon which promise of ours, two of *Powhatans* sonnes being very desirous to see their sister who was there present ashore with vs, came vnto vs, at the sight of whom, and her well fare, whom they suspected to be worse intreated, though they had often heard the contrary, they much reioyced, and promised that they would vndoubtedly perswade their father to redeeme her, and to conclude a firme peace foreuer with vs, and vpon this resolution the two brothers with vs retired aboarde, we hauing first dispatched two English men, Maister Iohn *Rolfe* and maister *Sparkes* to acquaint their Father with the businesse in hand, the next day being kindly intreated, they returned, not at all admitted *Powhatans* presence, but spake with his brother *Apachamo*, his successor, one who hath already the commaund of all the people, who likewise promised vs his best indeauors to further our iust requests, and we because the time of the yeere being then Aprill, called vs to our businesse at home to prepare ground, and set corne for our winters prouision, vpon these termes departed, giuing them respite till harueſt to resolue what was best for them to doe, with this Prouiso, that if finall agreement were not made betwixt vs before that time, we would thither returne againe and destroy and take away all their corne, burne all the houses vpon that riuer, leaue not a fishing *Weere* standing, nor a *Canoa* in any creeke therabout, and destroy and kill as many of them as we could.

Long before this time a gentleman of approued behauiour and honest cariage, maister Iohn *Rolfe* had bin in loue with *Pocahuntas* and she with him, which thing at the instant that we were in parlee with them, my selfe made known to Sir Thomas *Dale* by a letter from him, whereby he intreated his aduise and furtherance

therance in his loue, if so it seemed fit to him for the good of the Plantation, and *Pocahuntas* her selfe, acquainted her brethren therewith: which resolution Sir Thomas *Dale* wel approuing, was the onely cause hee was so milde amongst them, who otherwise would not haue departed their riuer without other conditions.

The bruite of this pretended marriage came soone to *Powhatans* knowledge, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his sudden consent thereunto, who some ten daies after sent an olde vncle of hirs, named *Opachisco*, to giue her as his deputy in the Church, and two of his sonnes to see the mariage solemnized, which was accordingly done about the fift of Aprill, and euer since we haue had friendly commerce and trade, not onely with *Powhatan* himselfe, but also with his subiects round about vs; so as now I see no reason why the Collonie should not thriue a pace.

Besides this loue by this meanes with *Powhatan* concluded, it will be worth my paines to runouer our friendship with our next neighbours, the *Chicohominies* lately confirmed, a lustie and daring people, who haue long time liued free from *Powhatans* subiection, hauing lawes and gouernors within themselues: these people hearing of our concluded peace with *Powhatan*, as the noise thereof was soone bruted abroade, sent two of their men vnto vs, and two fat Bucks for present to our king (for so Sir Thomas *Dale* is generally reputed and termed amongst them) and offered themselues and seruice vnto him, alleadging that albeit in former times they had bin our enemies, and we theirs, yet they would now if we pleased become not onely our trustie friends, but euen King IAMES his subiects and tributaries, and relinquish their old name of *Chicohominies*, and take vpon them, as they call vs the name of *Tossantessas*, and because they haue

no principall commander or *Weroance*, they would intreate Sir Thomas *Dale* as King IAMES his deputie to be their supreame head, King and gouernor, and in all iust causes and quarrels to defend them, as they would be ready at all times to aide him, onely their desire was to inioy their owne lawes and liberties, and because himselfe, by reason of his many other imployments, beside the charge he hath of his owne people, may not be alwaies present amongst them, to be gouerned as formerly by eight of the elders and principall men amongst them, as his substitutes and councellers, and euen this was the summe and effect of their embassie. Sir Thomas *Dale* appointed a day to send some men into their riuer, to propose certaine conditions vnto them, whereunto if they assented he would gladly accept of their proffered friendship, and be himselfe their *Weroance*: and with this answere offering them copper for their venison, which they refused to take, dismissed them.

When the appointed day came, Sir Thomas *Dale* himselfe and Captaine *Argall* with 50 men in a barge and frigot, well appointed, least any trecherie might be intended, set forward to *Chicohominie*, an arme of our riuer some seauen miles from Iames Town, where we found the people according to promise expecting our comming, assembled and met together, who after their best and most friendly manner, bad vs welcome, and because our businesse at home would permit vs but small time of stay with them, they presently sent for their principal men, some of whom were then absent, which hastned vnto vs, & the next morning very early assembled, and sat in counsell about this businesse, Captaine *Argall* (supplying Sir Thomas *Dales* place amongst them, who though there present for some respects, concealed himselfe, and kept aboarde his barge) after long discourse of their former proceedings

ceedings, Captaine *Argall* tould them, that now since they had intreated peace and promised their loue and friendship, hee was sent vnto them from the great *Weroance* to conclude the same, all former iniuries on both sides, set apart and forgotten, which he would doe vpon these conditions.

First that they should take vpon them, as they promised, the name of *Tassantasses* or English men, and be King IAMES his subiects, and be foreuer honest, faithfull and trustie vnto his deputie in their countrie.

Secondly, that they should neuer kill any of our men or cattell, but if either our men or cattle should offend them or runne to them, they should bring them home again, and should receiue satisfaction for the trespasse done them.

Thirdly, they should at all times be ready and willing to furnish vs with three or foure hundred bowmen to aide vs *against the Spaniards*, whose name is odious amongst them, for *Powhatans* father was driuen by them from the *west-Indies* into those parts, or against any other *Indians* which should, contrary to the established peace offer vs any iniurie.

Fourthly, they shall not vpon any occasion whatsoeuer breake downe any of our pales, or come into any of our Townes or forts by any other waies, issues or ports then ordinary, but first call, and say the *Tossantessas* are there, and so comming they shall at all times be let in, and kindely entertained.

Fifthly, so many fighting men as they haue which may be at the least fiue hundred should yeerely bring into our store house, at the beginning of their harnest two bushels of corne a man, as tribute of their obedience to his Maiestie, and to his deputy there, for which they should receiue so many Iron *Tomahawkes* or small hatchets.

Laſtly, the eight chiefe men which gouerne as ſubſtitutes and Councellors vnder Sir *Thomas Dale*, ſhall at all times ſee theſe Articles and conditions duly performed, for which they ſhall receiue a red coat, or liuery from our King yeerely, and each of them the picture of his Maieſty, ingrauen in Copper, with a chaine of Copper to hang it about his necke, whereby they ſhall be knowne to be King IAMES his noble Men: ſo as if theſe conditions, or any of them be broken, the offenders themſelues ſhall not onely be puniſhed, but alſo thoſe Commaunders, becauſe they ſtand ingaged for them.

After theſe Articles were thus propoſed, the whole aſſembly aſſenting thereunto, anſwered with a great ſhout, and noiſe, that they would readily and willingly performe them all: and immediately began the chiefe of the eight to make an oration to the reſt, bending his ſpeech firſt to the old men, then to the yong men, and in concluſion to the women and children, giuing them thereby to vnderſtand the ſumme of the propoſed conditions: and how ſtrictly they were to obſerue them: in conſideration whereof, he further declared what wee haue promiſed to doe for them, not onely to defend and keepe them from the fury & danger of *Powhatan*, which thing they moſt feared, but euen from all other enemies, domeſticke, or forraigne, and that we would yeerely by trade furniſh them with *Copper*, *Beades*, *Hatchets*, and many other neceſſaries, yea, which liked them beſt, that we would permit them to enioy their owne liberties, freedoms, and lawes, and to be gouerned as formerly, by eight of their chiefeſt men.

It ſhall not be vnneceſſarie to inſert the occaſion (as we imagine) of this their much deſired, vnexpected friendſhip, which was queſtionleſſe ſome ſodaine feare of *Powhatans* diſpleaſure, being vnited with vs,

now

now able to reuenge their disobedience done vnto him: for you must imagine, these people presuming vpon their owne strength and number (in no one place in those parts, which we know, so many together) to haue a long time neglected *Powhatan*, and refused, (which the place hath been formerly accustomed, and as his right may challenge the homage and duty of subiects, which they ought to haue performed: to which obedience, fearing our power might compell them, they chose rather to subiect themselues to vs, then being enemies to both, to expose & lay themselues open to *Powhatans* tiranny, & oppression: for this they did chiefely insist vpon, that he was an ill *Weroaules*, full of cruelty, and iniustice, couetous of those things they had, and implacable if they denyed him whatsoeuer he demaunded, and for these reasons, desired to be made one people with vs, to curbe the pride and ambition of *Powhatan*, from whom to defend them (they tould vs it would be no breach of peace on our parts, since now they were no longer *Chicohomimes*, or *Naturalls*, of that place, but *Tassantessars*, and King IAMES his subiects, whom we are bound to defend.

So soone as there was an end of speaking, and the peace firmely concluded, and assented vnto, Captaine *Argall* by the guift of eight great peeces of *Copper*, and eight great *Tomahawkes*, bound the eight great men, or Councellors to the exact performance, and keeping of the same, according to the conditions proclaimed, which they very gladly and thankefully accepted, and returned him, as testimonies of their loues, *Venison*, *Turkies*, *Freshfish*, *baskets*, *Mats*, and such like things as they were then furnished with, and so the Councell brooke vp, and then euery man brought to sell to our men *Skinnes*, *boules*, *mats baskets*, *tobacco*, *&c.* and became as familiar amongst vs,

vs, as if they had been Engliſh men indeede.

Thus haue I briefely as the matter would permit, diſcourſed our eſtabliſhed friendſhip with the *Naturalls*, and the occaſions thereof, which I hope will continue ſo long betweene vs, till they ſhall haue the vnderſtanding to acknowledge how much they are bound to God for ſending vs amongſt them (then which) what worke would be more acceptable to God, more honourable to our King and counrry?

The greateſt, and many enemies and diſturbers of our proceedings, and that which hath hitherto deterd our people to addreſſe themſelues into thoſe parts haue been onely two; emnity with the *Naturalls*, and the bruit of famine: one of theſe two (and that indeede, which was ſome cauſe of the other) I haue already remoued, and ſhall as eaſily take away the other: howbeit it were too great folly (I might ſay impudency in me) to auer that there hath raigned no ſuch infection in the Colony, occaſioned, meerly by miſgouernment, idleneſſe, and faction, and chiefely by the abſence of the euer worthy Commaunders, Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers* by the prouidence of God, miraculouſly wract and ſaued vpon the hopefull *Sumer* Iſlands, ſince my ſelfe cannot but witneſſe (of which I had ſome taſt) in what a miſerable condition, we found the Colony at our ariuall there, from the *Bermudas*, not liuing aboue threeſcore perſons therein, and thoſe ſcarce able to goe alone, of welnigh ſix hundred, not full ten moneths before: yet now I dare and will boldly affirme to the greateſt aduerſary of the Plantation, that ſhall auer the contrary, that there is that plenty of foode, which euery man by his owne induſtry may eaſily, & doth procure that the pooreſt there, & moſt in want, hath not bin ſo much pinched with hunger this 4 yeers that if he would take any pains, he knew

not

not wher to fetch a good meales meate: and true it is, that euery day by the prouidence, and bleſſing of God, and their owne induſtry, they haue more plenty then other, the reaſon hereof is at hand, for formerly, when our people were fedde out of the common ſtore and laboured iointly in the manuring of the ground, and planting corne, glad was that man that could ſlippe from his labour, nay the moſt honeſt of them in a generall buſineſſe, would not take ſo much faithfull and true paines, in a weeke, as now he will doe in a day, neither cared they for the increaſe, preſuming that howſoeuer their harueſt proſpered, the generall ſtore muſt maintain them, by which meanes we reaped not ſo much corne from the labours of 30 men, as three men haue done for themſelues: to preuent which miſchiefe heerafter Sir *Thomas Dale* hath taken a new courſe, throughout the whole Colony, by which meanes, the generall ſtore (apparrell onely excepted) ſhall not be charged with any thing: and this it is, he hath allotted to euery man in the Colony, three Engliſh Acres of cleere Corne ground, which euery man is to mature and tend, being in the nature of Farmers, (the *Bermuda* vndertakers onely excepted) and they are not called vnto any ſeruice or labor belonging to the Colony, more then one moneth in the yeere, which ſhall neither be in ſeede time, or in Harueſt, for which, doeing no other duty to the Colony, they are yeerly to pay into the ſtore two barrells and a halfe of Corne: there to be reſerued to keep new men, which ſhall be ſent ouer, the firſt yeere after their arriuall: and euen by this meanes I dare ſay, our ſtore will be bountifully furniſhed, to maintain three or foure hundred men, whenſoeuer they ſhall be ſent thither to vs, that mony which hitherto hath bin diſburſed, to prouide a twelue moneths victualls, if there were but now

halfe ſo much beſtowed in clothes, and bedding, will be ſuch comfort to the men, as euen thereby the liues of many ſhall not onely be preſerued, but alſo themſelues kept in ſtrength and heart, able to performe ſuch buſineſſes, as ſhall be impoſed vpon them: and thus ſhall alſo the former charge be well ſaued, and yet more buſineſſe effected, the action renowned, and more commodity returned to the Merchant, and yet faint for want of encouragement.

Concerning the vndertaking of the *Bermuda* City, a buſineſſe of greateſt hope, euer begunne in our Territories there, their Pattent, which I purpoſe in this Treatiſe to inſert, doth apparantly demonſtrate, vpon what termes and conditions they voluntarily haue vndertaken that imployment, how forward that buſineſſe is, in his due place ſhall bee expreſſed, onely giue me leaue with as much breuity as I may, leaſt any man ſhould diuert his minde, and be fearefull to aduenture his perſon thither, for feare of famine and penury, to amplifie a little the plenty there for if it be true, (as moſt certaine it is, that thoſe whom I haue deſcribed vnder the title of Farmers, can pay into our Store, two barrels and a halfe of Corne yeerely. and others who labour eleauen moneths in the generall buſineſſe of the Colony, and but one to prouide themſelues victualls, why ſhould any man (if he be induſtrious) miſtruſt ſtaruing? if otherwiſe, for any part, and I thinke all that are ingaged in the Action, and vnderſtand the buſineſſe, accord with me heerein, and would not wiſh his company there, nay they ſhall much wrong themſelues, and the Action, if they doe not withſtand ſuch, and deny them paſſage: for euen they and none elſe haue been the occaſions of the manifould imputations, & diſgraces, which *Virginia* hath innocently vndergon, through their defaults: I would therefore by theſe

relations not onely encourage honeſt and induſtrious: but alſo deterre all laſie, impotent, and ill liuers from addreſſing themſeues thither, as being a Country too worthy for them, and altogeather diſconſonant to their natures, which muſt either brooke labour or hazard, and vndergoe much diſpleaſure, puniſhment, and penury, if they eſcape a thing which few idlers haue don, the ſcuruy diſeaſe, with which few, or none once infected, haue recouered.

To proceed therefore in my incouragement to painefull people, ſuch as either through croſſes in this world, or wracft rents, or elſe great charge of children and family liue heer, and that not without much care and ſweat, into extreame pouerty: for thoſe this Countrey hath preſent remedy: Euerie ſuch perſon, ſo well diſpoſed to aduentnre thither, ſhal ſoon find the difference between their own, and that Country. The affaires in the Colony, being ſo well ordered, and the hardeſt taskes already ouerpaſt, that whoſoeuer (now, or heerafter) ſhall happily arriue there, ſhall finde a hanſome howſe of ſome foure roomes or more, if he haue a family, to repoſe himſelfe in rent freee, and twelue Engliſh Acres of ground, adioyning thereunto, very ſtrongly impailed, which ground is onely allotted vnto him for *Roots*, *Gardaine heurbs*, and *Corne*: neither ſhall hee need to prouide himſelfe, as were wont the firſt planters, of a yeers prouiſion of victualls, for that the ſtore there will bee able to affoord him, & vpon theſe conditions he ſhall be entertained; He ſhall haue for himſelfe & family, a competent 12 months prouiſion deliuered vnto him, in which time it muſt bee his care to prouide for himſelfe and family euer after, as thoſe already there, to this end he ſhall be furniſhed with neceſſary tooles of all ſorts, and for his better ſubſiſtance he ſhall haue Poultry, and ſwine, and if

he deserue it, a Goate or two, perhaps a Cow giuen him, which once compast, how happily he may liue, as doe many there, who I am sure will neuer returne, I submit to their own future well experienced iudgements.

Now, least any man should yet rest discouraged because as yet no mention is made of any other prouision of victualls, saue onely of bread-corne, whih graunt, it may with labour be competently procured, will affoord but a bare, and miserable liuing, I thinke there is no man so ignorant to conceiue, that such a main continent as is *Virginia*, boundlesse, for ought we haue discouered, and so goodly Riuers, no where else to be parralled, should be more barraine of Cattell, Fish, and Foule, then other Lands, assuredly they are not: for true it is, that the Land is stored with plenty and variety of wilde beasts, Lions, Bears, Deere of all sorts, (onely differing from ours in their increase, hauing vsuall, three or foure Fawnes at a time, none that I haue seen or heard off vnder two: the reason whereof some of our people ascribe to the vertue of some grasse or hearb which they eate, because our Goats often times bring foorth three, and most of them two: for my part I rather impute their fecundity to the prouidence of God, who for euery mouth prouideh meate, and if this increase were not, the Naturalls would assuredly starue: for of the Deere (they kill as doe wee Beefes in *England*) all the yeer long, neither sparing yong nor olde, no not the Does readie to fawne, nor the yong fawnes, if but two daies ould) *Beauers, Otters, Foxes, Racounes*, almost as big as a *Fox*, as good meat as a lamb, *hares, wild Cats, muske rats, Squirills* flying, and other of three or foure sorts, *Apossumes*, of the bigneese and likeneese of a Pigge, of a moneth ould, a beast of as strange as incredible nature, she hath commonly seauen

uen yong ones, ſometimes more and ſometimes leſſe which at her pleaſure till they be a moneth olde or more ſhe taketh vp into her belly, and putteth forth againe without hurt to her ſelfe or them.

Of each of theſe beaſts, the Lion excepted, my ſelfe haue many times eaten, and can teſtifie that they are not onely taſtefull, but alſo wholeſome and nouriſhing foode.

There are foule of diuers ſorts, *Eagles, wilde Turkeis* much bigger then our Engliſh, *Cranes, Herons* white and ruſſet, *Hawkes, wilde Pigeons* (in winter beyond number or imagination, my ſelfe haue ſeene three or foure houres together flockes in the aire, ſo thicke that euen they haue ſhaddowed the skie from vs) *Turckie Buſſards, Partridge, Snipes, Owles, Swans, Geeſe, Brants, Ducke* and *Mallard, Droeis, Shel Drakes Cormorants, Teale, Widgeon, Curlewes, Puits*, beſides other ſmall birds, as Blacke-birde, hedge ſparrowes, Oxeies, wood peckers, and in winter about Chriſtmas many flockes of *Parakertoths*.

For fiſh the Riuers are plentifiully ſtored, with *Sturgion, Porpaſſe, Baſe, Rockfiſh, Carpe, Shad, Herring, Ele, Catfiſh, Perch, Flat-fiſh, Troute, Sheepes-head, Drummers, Iarfiſh, Creniſes, Crabbes, Oiſters* and diuerſe other kindes, of all which my ſelfe haue ſeene great quantity taken, eſpecially the laſt ſummer at *Smiths Iſland*, at one hale, a frigots lading of Sturgion, Baſe and other great fiſh in Captaine *Argals* Sauie: and euen at that very place which is not aboue fifteene miles from *Pointcomfort*, if we had beene furniſhed with ſalt, to haue ſaued it, wee might haue taken as much fiſh as would haue ſerued vs that whole yeere.

Nor are theſe prouicion of bread, fleſh and fiſh, al we haue for ſuſtentation of mans life, behold more change and variety of foode, which our ſoile and climate affordeth, *Carrats, Parſneps, Turneps, Raddiſh*,

Pumpions (of the west Indie kinde in great abundance, of one seede I haue seen an hundreth, much better then ours and lasting all the yeere) *Cabbadge*, *Parsley*, all manner of pothearbs and other hearbes, *Margerum*, *Time*, *winter-Sauory*, *Lettice Purslaine*, &c, and besides the naturall graine of that Country, as wheate pease and beanes, it did me much good to view our English wheate how forward it was, full eard, of one graine fortie eares or more, a span long, and onely wanting ripening in *mid Iune*, our English pease then ripe, and beanes very forward, and English barly very hopefull, such as mine eies neuer beheld better in England: And if that soile bring forth these things (as can those which haue bin there with me affirme and witnesse) as plentifull and vnchangeable for taste and quantity as England or any other country, why shold any man that hath his limbes, in a peaceable state as is that, so much as dreame of staruing?

To goe yet a little further, I my selfe know no one Country yeelding without art or industry so manie fruites, sure I am England doth: wilde grapes in abundance al the woods ouer, their iuice sweete and pleasant in taste, some of them wee haue replanted in a vineyard adioyning to *Henrico*, the quantity of three or foure Akers which were this yeere very plentifully laden, to what perfection they will come, the next returne will aduertise: *Cherries* little inferior to ours, which if replanted may proove as much better as now they are worse *Pissmien plums* in bygnes and fashion like a *Medlar* of a slipticke quality, other sorts of plummes like to our wheat plums, and in goodnes answerable: great fields and woods abounding with *Strawberies* much fairer and more sweete then ours, *Mulberries* of great bignesse, and about the *Bermuda* Cittie and *Hundirds* thereunto belonging great store thereof, *Maricocks* of the fashion of a Lemmon whose

blossome

bloſſome may admit compariſon with our moſt delightſome and bewtifull flowers, and the fruite exceeding pleaſant and taſtfull: *Cheſnut-trees* towards the fals as many as oakes, and as fertile, many goodly groues of *Chincomen trees* with a huske like vnto a Cheſnut, raw or boyled, luſcious and harty meate: Walnuts of three or foure ſorts, whereof there might be yeerely made great quantity of oyles, as vſefull and good as that of Oliues: ſome filberds I haue ſeene, Crabbes great ſtore, leſſe, but not ſo ſower as ours, which grafted with the *Siens* of Engliſh aple trees, without queſtion would beare very good fruite, and we doubt not but to haue the *Siens* enough the next yeere, there being in Sir Thomas *Gates* his garden at Iames town, many forward apple & peare trees come vp, of the kernels ſet the yeere before.

If all this be not ſufficient, loe further incouragement, the collony is already furniſhed with two hundred neate cattell, as many goates, infinite hogges in heards all ouer the woods, beſides thoſe to euerie towne belonging in generall, and euery priuate man, ſome Mares, Horſes & Colts, Poultry great ſtore, beſides tame Turkeis, Peacockes and Pigeons plentifully increaſing and thriuing there, in no Countrie better.

Of our yong Steeres the next winter we doubt not to haue three or foure Ploughes going, which once compaſt, we ſhall in ſhort time be able to repay England the corne they haue lent vs.

If I knew yet any further impediments which might ſeeme to giue diſcouragement to aduenture thither, I ſhould as eaſily remoue them.

Obiect that pleaſeth the want of cloathes, ſo long as there are wilde beaſts there, and the beaſts haue skinnes on their backes (if the neceſſity were ſuch) why ſhould not we as doe the naturals, cloath our

ſelues

felues therewith, it is no worse then our fore-fathers haue worne before vs, and such as will saue vs from the colde in winter, and heate in summer: but admit there were no skinnes or being there, our people disdaine to weare them. If there be any man that hath beene so ill an husband here that he cannot furnish himselfe with a yeeres prouision of apparrell; if I might counsell he should not be suffered to goe thither, for that country is not for him, as for others who can prouide apparrell for the first yeere, I holde him a worse husband then the former, that shall at any time after be worse cloathed then he went ouer: the valuable commoditie of Tobacco of such esteeme in England (if there were nothing else) which euery man may plant, and with the least part of his labour, tend and care will returne him both cloathes and other necessaries. For the goodnesse whereof, answerable to *west-Indie Trinidado* or *Craeus* (admit there hath no such bin returned) let no man doubt. Into the discourse wherof, since I am obuiously entred, I may not forget the gentleman, worthie of much commendations, which first tooke the pains to to make triall thereof, his name Mr Iohn *Rolfe*, *Anno Domini* 1612. partly for the loue he hath a long time borne vnto it, and partly to raise commodity to the aduenturers, in whose behalfe I witnesse and vouchsafe to holde my testimony in beleefe, that during the time of his aboade there, which draweth neere vpon sixe yeeres, no man hath laboured to his power, by good example there and worthy incouragement into England by his letters, then he hath done, witnes his mariage with *Powhatans* daughter, one of rude education, manners barbarous and cursed generation, meerely for the good and honour of the Plantation: And least any man should conceiue that some sinister respects allured him hereunto, I haue made bold con-

trary

trary to his knowledge in the end of my treatise to insert the true coppie of his letter, written to Sir Thomas *Dale* to acquaint him with his proceedings, and purpose therein, the rather to giue testimony to the miscōstruing and ill censuring multitude of his integritie, in the vndertaking a matter of so great a consequent, who in my hearing haue not spared to speak their pleasures; his owne letter hits them home, and the better sort, who know to censure iudiciously cannot but highly commend and approue so worthy an vndertaking.

Thus farre I haue applied my selfe to incourage personall Aduenturers: I would gladly now by worthy motiues, allure the heauie vndertakers to persist with alacritie and cheerefulnesse, both for their owne reputations, the honour of God, and their King and Country. The worthier sort, J meane those Nobles and others of that honourable counsell interessed therein, neede no spurre, their owne innate vertues driues them a pace. The Merchant onely wants some feeling and present returne of those commodities which he is perswaded the country affordeth: to them therefore I will addresse my speech, and if I may perswade them to be constant in their proceedings, some small time longer, the benefit will be the greater and the more welcome when it commeth.

It is not for nothing Sir Thomas *Dale*, so noblie without respect to his liuing, to his Lady here in England, past the prefixed time of his resolued returne, yet remaineth there; I am sure if he pleased he might returne with as much honour as any man from thence, I say not more.

I shall little neede, and indeede it were but waste and Idle for me to repeate and mention the commodities, which with onely labour may bee there procured: many Treatises hath them at full. Sam-

ples haue beene sent home, and no man disputeth the goodnes, or the quantitie there to be had: take therefore double courage to your selues, and let these two yeeres neglect be restored by a cheerefull and new onset, and for your incouragement reade yet a little further, and view the face of the Colony, euen superficially portraide: see what effects these three yeeres haue wrought.

In *May* 1611 Sir Thomas *Dale*, with a prospetous passage, not full eight weekes arriued there, with him about three hundred people, such as for the present speede, and dispatch could then be prouided, of worse condition then those formerly there, who I sorrow to speake it, were not so prouident, though once before bitten with hunger and pennury, as to put corne into the gound for their winters bread, but trusted to the store, then furnished but with eight months prouisiō. His first care therfore was to imploy al hands about setting of Corne at the two Forts, seated vpon *Kecoughtan*, *Henry* and *Charles*, whereby the season then not fully past, though about the end of May, we had there an indifferent Crop of good corn.

This businesse taken order for, and the care and trust of it committed to his vnder officers, to *Iames Towne* he hastened, where the most company were, and their daily and vsuall workes, bowling in the streetes, these he imployed about necessary workes, as felling of Timber, repairing their houses ready to fall vpon their heads, and prouiding pales, posts and railes to impaile his purposed new Towne, which by reason of his ignorance in those parts, but newly arriued there, he had not resolued where to seate. For his better knowledge therefore of those parts, himselfe with an hundreth men, spent some time in discouery, first *Nansamund Riuer*, which in dispight of the Indians, then our enemies, he discouered to the

head

head, after that, our owne Riuer, to the fals, where-vpon a high land inuironed with the mayn Riuer, fom ſixteene or twentie miles, from the head of the Fals, neere to an Indian Towne called *Arſahattocke*, he reſolued to plant his new Towne, and ſo did, whereof in his due place I ſhall make a briefe relation.

It was no meane trouble to him, to reduce his people, ſo timely to good order, being of ſo il a condition as may well witneſſe his ſeuere and ſtrict imprinted booke of Articles, then needefull with all ſeuerity and extremity to be executed, now much mitigated, for more deſerued death in thoſe daies, then do now the leaſt puniſhment, ſo as if the law ſhould not haue reſtrained by execution. I ſee not how the vtter ſubuerſion and ruine of the Colony ſhould haue bin preuented, witneſſe Webbes and Priſes deſigne the firſt yeere, ſince that Abbots and others more daungerous then the former, and euen this ſummer, Coles and Kitchins Plot, with three more, bending their courſe towards the Southward, to a *Spaniſh Plantation*, reported to be there, who had trauelled (it being now a time of peace) ſomefiue daies iorney to *Ocanahoen*, there cut off by certaine Indians, hired by vs to hunt them home to receiue their deſerts. So as Sir Thomas *Dale* hath not bin tyranous, nor ſeuere at all; Indeede the offences haue bin capitall, and the offenders dangerous, incurable members, for no vſe ſo fit as to make examples to others, but the manner of their death may ſome obiect, hath bin cruell, vnuſuall and barbarous, which indeede they haue not bin, witneſſe France, and other Countries for leſſe offences: what if they haue bin more ſeuere then vſuall in England, there was iuſt cauſe for it, we were rather to haue regard to thoſe whom we would haue terrified, and made fearefull to commit the like offences, then to the offenders iuſtly condemned, It being true that

amongst those people (who for the most part are sencible onely of the bodies torment) the feare of a cruell, painefull and vnusuall, death, more restrains them then death it selfe.

Thus much obiously, I proceede in his indeuours vntill Sir Thomas *Gates* his happie arriuall, which was onely in preparing timber, pales, posts and railes for the present impaling this new Towne to secure himselfe and men from the mallice and trechery of the Indians, in the midst and hart of whom, he was resolued to set downe, but before he could make himselfe ready for that businesse, Sir Thomas *Gates* though his passage more long then vsuall, to second him herein, happily arriued about the second of August, with sixe good Shippes, men, prouisions and cattle, whom as yet not fully discouered, we supposed to be a Spanish fleete, thus induced the rather to beleeue, because in company with him were three *Caruals*, vessels which neuer before had bin sent thither, and now onely for the transportation of the Cattle. It did mee much good, and gaue great courage to the whole company to see the resolution of Sir Thomas *Dale*, now wholy busied (our land fortifications to weake to withstand a forraigne Enemy) in lading our prouisions aboard the two good Shippes, the *Starre* and *Prosperous*, and our own *Deliuerance*, then riding before *Iames* town, aboarde which Shippes, he had resolued to encounter the supposed Enemy, animating his people, not onely with the hope of victory if they readily obeied his direction, but also assuring them that if by these meanes God had ordained to set a period to their liues, they could neuer be sacrificed in a more acceptable seruice, himselfe promising, rather to fire the *Spanish* Shippes with his owne, then either basely to yeelde, or to be taken: and in nothing he seemed so much discontent as that we could not possibly lade aboarde

boarde all our prouisions before (the winde being then very faire) they might haue bin with vs, whileſt therefore the reſt were labouring their vtmoſt to lade aboarde our prouiſions, hee cauſed a ſmall ſhallop to be manned with thirtyreadie and good ſhot to diſcouer directly what Shippes they might be, and withall ſpeede to returne him certaine word, which within three houres they did, aſſuring him that is was an Engliſh fleete, Sir Thomas *Gates* Generall thereof: which newes how welcome it was vnto him, principally becauſe now he doubted not the happie progreſſion of the affaires in hand, let any man (equally with him affected to the good and welfare of the action) iudge and determine.

The worthies being met, after ſalutation and welcome giuen, and receiued, Sir Thomas *Dale* acquainted Sir Thomas *Gates* both with ſuch buſineſſes as he had affected ſince his arriuall, and alſo of his reſolution to builde a new Towne, at the *Fales*, which deſigne and purpoſe of his, Sir Thomas *Gates* then principall Gouernour in *Virginia*, well approuing, furniſhed him with three hundred and fiftie men, ſuch as himſelfe made choiſe of, and the beginning of *September* 1611 he ſet from *Iames* town, and in a day & a halfe, landed at a place where he purpoſed to ſeate & builde, where he had not bin ten daies before he had very ſtrongly impaled ſeuen Engliſh Acres of ground for a towne, which in honour of the noble Prince *Henrie* (of euer happie and bleſſed memory, whoſe royall heart was euer ſtrongly affected to that action) he called by the name of *Henrico*. No ſooner was he thus fenced, and in a manner ſecured from the Indians, but his next worke (without reſpect to his owne health or particular welfare) was building at each corner of the towne, very ſtrong and high commanders or watch-towers, a faire and handſome Church, and ſtorehouſes

Henrico in Vir

ſes, which finiſhed he began to thinke vpon conuenient houſes, and lodgings for himſelfe and men, which with as much ſpeede as was poſſible, were more ſtrongly and more handſome then any formerly in *Virginia*, contriued and finiſhed, and euen in foure moneths ſpace, he had made *Henrico* much better and of more worth then all the worke euer ſince the Colonie began, therein done.

I ſhould be to tedious if I ſhould giue vp the accompt of euery daies labour, which therefore I purpoſly omit, and will onely deſcribe the towne, in the very ſtate and perfection wich I left it, and firſt for the ſituation, it ſtandes vpon a neck of a very high land, 3 parts thereof inuironed with the main Riuer, and cut ouer betweene the two Riuers, with a ſtrong pale, which maketh the neck of land an Iſland. There is in this town 3 ſtreets of well framed howſes, a hanſom Church, and the foundation of a more ſtately one laid, of Brick, in length, an hundred foote, and fifty foot wide, beſide Store houſes, watch houſes, and ſuch like: there are alſo, as ornaments belonging to this Town, vpon the verge of this Riuer, fiue faire Block houſes, or commaunders, wherein liue the honeſter ſort of people, as in Farmes in *England*, and there keepe continuall centinell for the townes ſecurity, and about two miles from the towne into the Main, a Pale of two miles in length, cut ouer from riuer to riuer, garded likewiſe with ſeuerall Commanders, with a great quantity of corne ground impaled, ſufficient if there were no more in the Colony ſecured, to maintain with but eaſiy manuring, and huſbandry, more men, then I ſuppoſe, will be addreſſed thither, (the more is the pitty) theſe 3 yeeres.

For the further enlargement yet of this Town, on the other ſide of the Riuer, by impaling likewiſe: for we make no other fence, is ſecured to our vſe, eſpecially

ally for our hogges to feede in, about twelue Engliſh miles of ground, by name, *Hope in faith*, *Coxen-Dale*, ſecured by fiue Forts, called, *Charity Fort*, *Mount malado*, a *retreat*, or *gueſt houſe* for ſick people, a high ſeat and wholſome aire, *Elzabeth Fort*, and *Fort patience*: and heere hath Mr. *Whitacres* choſen his Parſonage, or Church land, ſom hundred Acres impaled, and a faire framed parſonage houſe built thereupon, called *Rocke Hall* of this Towne, and all the Forts thereunto belonging, hath Captaine *Iames Dauis*, the principall Commaunde, and Gouernment.

I proceed to our next and moſt hopefull habitation, whether we reſpect commodity, or ſecurity, (which we principally aime at) againſt forraigne deſignes, and inuaſions, I meane the *Bermuda* Citty, begun about Chriſtmas laſt, which becauſe it is the neereſt adioyning to *Henrico*, though the laſt vnderta-ken, I hould it pertinent to handle in the next place. This Towne, or plantation is ſeated by land, ſome 5 miles from *Henrico*, by water fourteene, being the yeer before the habitation of the *Appamatucks*, to reuenge the trecherous iniurie of thoſe people, done vnto vs, taken from them, beſides all their Corne, the former before without the loſſe of any, ſaue onely ſome few of thoſe Indians, pretending our hurt) at what time Sir *Thomas Dale*, being himſelf vpon that ſeruice, and duly conſidering how commodious a habitation and ſeat it might be for vs, tooke reſolution to poſſeſſe and plant it, and at that very inſtant, gaue it the name of the new *Bermudas*, whereunto he hath laid out, and annexed to be belonging to the freedome, and corporation for euer, many miles of Champion, and woodland, in ſeuerall Hundreds, as the vpper and nether Hundreds, *Rochdale* hundred, *Weſts Sherly* hundred, and *Digges* his hundred. In the

nether

nether hundred he firſt began to plant, and inhabite for that there lyeth the moſt conuenient quantity of Corne ground, and with a Pale cut ouer from Riuer to Riuer, about two miles long, wee haue ſecurd ſome eight miles circuit of ground, the moſt part champion, and exceeding good Corne ground, vpon which pale, and round about, vpon the verge of the Riuer in this Hundred, halfe a mile diſtant from each other, are vey faire houſes, already builded, beſides diuers other particular mens houſes, not ſo few as fifty, according to the conditions of the pattent graunted them, which who ſo pleaſeth to peruſe, ſhall in the end of my diſcourſe finde it inſerted. In this Plantation next to Sir *Thomas Dale* is principal, in the Commaund, Captaine *Georg Yardley*, Sir *Thomas Gates* his lieftenaunt, who ſe endeauours haue euer deſerued worthy commendations in that imployment. *Rochdale* Hundred by a croſſe pale, well nigh foure miles long, is alſo already impaled, with bordering houſes all along the pale, in which Hundred our hogges, and other cattell haue twenty miles circuit to graze in ſecurely. The vndertaking of the chiefe Citty deferred till their Harueſt be in, which once reaped, all hands ſhall be imployed theron, which Sir *Thomas Dale* purpoſeth, and he may with ſome labour effect his deſignes, to make an impregnable retreat, againſt any forraign inuaſion, how powrefull ſo euer.

About fifty miles from this ſeat, on the other ſide of the Riuers, is *Iames* towne ſituate, vpon a goodly and fertile Iſland: which although formerly ſcandoled with vnhealthfull aire, we haue ſince approued as healthfull as any other place in the country: and this I can ſay by mine own experience, that that corn and gardaine ground (which with much labour beeing when we firſt ſeated vpon it, a thick wood) wee haue

haue cleered, and impaled, is as fertile as any other we haue had experience and triall off. The Towne it selfe by the care and prouidence of Sir *Thomas Gates*, who for the most part had his chiefest residence there, is reduced into a hansome forme, and hath in it two faire rowes of howses, all of framed Timber, two stories, and an vpper Garret, or Corne loft high, besides three large, and substantiall Store-howses, ioyned togeather in length some hundred and twenty foot, and in breadth forty, and this town hath been lately newly, and strongly impaled, and a faire platforme for Ordenance in the west Bulwarke raised: there are also without this towne in the Island, some very pleasant, and beutifull howses, two Blockhouses, to obserue and watch least the Indians at any time should swim ouer the back riuer, and come into the Island, and certain other farme howses. The commaund and gouernment of this town, hath master *Iohn Scarpe*, Liftenant to Captain *Francis West*, Brother to the right Honourable, the Lord *Lawarre*.

From *Iames* towne downewards, some forty and odde miles at the mouth of the riuer, neer *Point Comfort*, vpon *Kecoughtan*, are two pleasant and commodious Forts, *Henrie* and *Charles*, goodly seats, and much corne ground about them, abounding with the commodities of *fish*, *fowle*, *Deere*, and fruits, where by the men liue there, with halfe that maintenaunce out of the Store, which in other places is allowed: certainly this habitation would bee no whit inferiour to the best we haue there, saue, as yet, with the poore meanes we haue; we cannot secure it, if a forraigne enemy, as we haue iust cause to expect daily should attempt it. And of these Forts, Captain *Georg Web* was lately establisht the principall Commander.

It hath been our greateſt care, and labour hitherto, and yet but theſe three yeers, the former foure meerely miſpent, to compaſſe theſe buſineſſes, which being thus ſetled, and brought to ſuch perfection, as I haue deſcribed, now doth the time approch, that commodity may be expected, and if meanes bee ſent ouer, will aſſuredly be returned. What honeſt ſpirit, hauing hitherto laboured herein, would at the vpſhot (as I may ſo term it) be diſcouraged or deſiſt? I hope none, rather more will be animated, (if need require) to put too their helping hands and purſes.

And euen thus I haue ſhaddowed I hope, without the guilt of tedious, or prolix diſcourſes (as I haue been able) the trne condition (though many circumſtances omitted) of *Virginia*, what may the ſubſtance be, when the externall ſhew is ſo forward, ſo glorious.

I haue purpoſely omitted the relation of the Contry commodities, which euery former treatiſe hath abundantly, the hope of the better mines, the more baſe, as Iron, Allom, and ſuch like, Perfectly diſcouered, and made triall off, and ſurely of theſe things I cannot make ſo ample relation, as others, who in the diſcouery of thoſe affaires, haue bin, then my ſelfe more often conuerſant, onely of the hopefull, and marchantable commodities of tobacco, ſilke graſſe, and ſilke wormes: I dare thus much affirme, and firſt of Tobacco, whoſe goodneſſe mine own experience and triall induces me to be ſuch, that no country vnder the Sunne, may, or doth affoord more pleaſant, ſweet, and ſtrong Tobacco, then I haue taſted there, euen of mine owne planting, which, howſoeuer being then the firſt yeer of our triall thereof, wee had not the knowledge to cure, and make vp, yet are ther ſome now reſident there, out of the laſt yeers well obſerued experience, which both know, and I doubt

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not, will make, and returne ſuch Tobacco this yeere, that euen England ſhall acknowledge the goodneſſe thereof.

Now I proceed to the ſilke graſſe which groweth like vnto our flax, I meane not, of that kinde formerly ſent ouer, I haue ſeen, euen of the naturall, and wilde plants, which Captaine *Martin*, who much delighteth in thoſe buſineſſes, hath made, exceeding fine, and exceeding ſtrong ſilke, and himſelfe hath replanted many of the wilde plants this yeere, the ſilke whereof he purpoſeth to returne for triall.

The ſilke wormes ſent thither from *England*, in ſeeds the laſt winter, came foorth many of them the beginning of *March*, others in *Aprill*, *Maye*, and *Iune*, thouſands of them grown to great bigneſſe, and a ſpinning, and the reſt well thriuing of their increaſe, and commodity well knowne to be reaped by them, we haue all moſt aſſurance (ſince ſure I am) no Country affoordeth more ſtore of *Mulbery* trees, or a kind with whoſe leafe they more delight, or thriue better.

It may be heere happily expected, that I ſhould giue vp the relation of Captaine *Argalls* particular voyages and indeauours, and euen as in a Plat, demonſtrate his Norward diſcoueries, from which buſineſſe I deſire to be excuſed, partly, becauſe himſelfe is beſt able to make his owne relations, and partly, becauſe my home imployments would not permit me leiſure to accompany him, though my ſelfe deſirous, in any of his voyages, whoſe indeauours, if I ſhould indeauour to make knowne, and publiſh, could receiue no honour at all by my commendations, or deſcriptions: much might they be impaired, through my ignorance, or vnskillfullnes to ſet them foorth: yet cannot I omit to publiſh to the world, what preſent reliefe he hath don to the Colony, furniſhing

nishing vs by two trading voyages, with three and twenty hundred bushels of Corne, into our store deliuered: beside, what he reserued for his mens prouision, what he bestowed vpon well deseruers, and what his men appropriated.

I passe by the benefit of peace in those parts, by reason of his Captiue *Pochahuntas*, concluded established, and will onely name the commoditie by his meanes done vnto vs, in repairing of our weather-beten boats, and furnishing vs with new, both strong, and vsefull, without whose assistance heerin, vnlesse wee should haue omitted other necessary imployments, I see not how we should haue had passage one to another.

His Norward discoueries towards *Sacadehoc*, and beyond to *Port royall*, *Sancta Crux*, and thereabout may not be concealed: In which his aduentures, if he had brought home no commodity to the Colony, (which yet he did very much, both of apparrell, victualls, and many other necessaries) the honour which he hath done vnto our Nation, by displanting the French, there beginning to seate & fortifie within our limits, and taking of their Ship and Pinnas, which he brought to *Iames* Towne, would haue been reward enough for his paines, and will euer speake loud his honour, and approued valour.

I haue heard it credibly reported, euen from the mouth of Captaine *Argall*, that in one small Shippe, and in one voyage, the French haue cleered eight thousand pounds by trade with the Indians, for furs, which benefit wil be as easily by vs procured.

It is true the *Saluadges* there inhabiting (before Captaine *Argalls* arriuall) esteemed the French as Demy-Gods, and had them in great estimation: but seeing them vanquished and ouercom by vs, forsook them, yea, which is no meane point of pollicy, desi-

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red our friendship, telling Captaine *Argall*, that hee had vndone them for euer, for that the French by yeerely trade with them for Furres, furnished them with many necessaries, whereof they had great want, which trade by this meanes might happily be hindered. But Captaine *Argall* hath agreed with them to reserue their Furrés for him, and promised them, once a yeere to come thither, and truck with them: they seemed very well content, assuring him, that though the French should at any time arriue there, and proffer them trade, they would reserue all their Furs for him, and what profit by this meanes onely, may be returned to the *Virginia* aduenturers, I submit to Captaine *Argalls* owne oppinion and iudgement.

I purposely omitted one thing in the Treatise of our concluded peace, wherewith I intend to conclud my discourse, which already I haue drawne to a longer period then I purposed, whereby wee haue gathered the better assurance, of their honest inward intentions, and this it is.

It pleased Sir *Thomas Dale* (my selfe being much desirous before my returne for *England*, to visit *Powhatan*, & his Court, because I would be able to speak somwhat thereof by mine own knowledge) to imploy my selfe, and an english boy for my Interpreter on *Thomas Saluage* (who had liued three yeers with *Powhatan*, and speakes the language naturally, one whom *Powhatan* much affecteth) vpon a message vnto him, which was to deale with him, if by any meanes I might procure a daughter of his, who (*Pochahuntas* being already in our possession) is generally reported to be his delight, and darling, and surely he esteemeth her as his owne soule) for surer pledge of peace.

I departed the fifteenth of May early in the morning

ning, with the Englisſh Boy, and two Indian guides, from the Bermudas, and came to his court or reſidence (as I iudge ſome three ſcore miles diſtant from vs, being ſeated at the head almoſt of *Pamaunkie* Riuer, at a towne called *Match(ot)* the next night after, about twelue of the clocke, the former night lodging in the open woods, feareles and without daunger: when we were come oppoſite to his Towne, the maine riuer betweene him and vs, leaſt at any time we ſhould martch by land vnto him vndiſcouered: my Indian guides called for a Canoa (a boate made onely of one tree, after the faſhion of a hollow trough) to tranſport vs, giuing them to know that there was two Engliſh ſent vpon buſineſſe to *Powhatan* from the Engliſh *Weroance*, which once knowne, a Canoa was preſently ſent, and we ferried ouer, *Powhatan* himſelfe attending at the landing place to welcome vs. His firſt ſalutation was to the Boy, whom he very wel remembred, after this manner: my childe you are welcome, you haue bin a ſtraunger to me theſe foure yeeres, at what time I gaue you leaue to goe to *Paſpahae* (for ſo was Iames towne called before our ſeating there) to ſee your friends, and till now you neuer returned: you (ſaid he) are my child, by the donatiue of Captaine *Newport*, in liew of one of my ſubiects *Namontacke*, who I purpoſely ſent to King Iames his land, to ſee him and his country, and to returne me the true report thereof, he as yet is not returned, though many ſhips haue arriued here from thence, ſince that time, how ye haue delt with him I know not? hauing thus ended his ſpeech to him, he addreſſed himſelf to me, and his firſt ſalutation, without any words at all, was about my necke, and with his hand he feeled round about it, ſo as I might haue imagined he would haue cut my throate, but that I knew he durſt not, he asked me where the chaine of

pearle

pearle was, I demaunded what chaine: that, said he, which I sent my Brother Sir *Thomas Dale* for a present, at his first arriuall: which chaine, since the peace concluded, he sent me word, if he sent any Englishman vpon occasion of busines to me, he should weare about his necke, otherwise I had order from him to binde him and send him home againe. It is true Sir *Thomas Dale* had sent him such word (which till then my selfe neuer heard of) and for this purpose had giuen his Page order to deliuer me the said chaine, who forgot it: I was doubtfull at the first how to answere him, yet presently I replied that I was not ignorant of that message from his brother, formerly sent vnto him, whereby he onely entended that if vpon extraordinary and sudden occasion, he should be constrained to send an English man vnto him without an Indian guide, then in testimonie that he sent him hee should weare the chaine about his necke: but in case any of his owne people should conduct any English vnto him, as did me, two of his owne men, one of them a Counceller vnto him, who was acquainted with my businesse, their testimony should be sufficient, and the chaine then needelesse to be worne, which answere pleased him well, and fourthwith he brought vs to his house, not full a stones cast from the waterside, whereinto being come, himselfe sat downe on his bedsteade side, bed there was none more then a single mat, on each hand of him was placed a comely and personable young woman, not twenty yeeres old the eldest, which they call his Queenes, the house with in round about bee set with them, the outside guarded with an hundred bowmen, with their quiuers of arrowes at their backes, which at all times, & places attend his person.

The first thing hee offered vs was a pipe of Tobacco, which they call *Pissimore*, whereof himselfe first

firſt dranke, and then gaue it me, and when I had drank what I pleaſed, I returned his pipe, which with his owne hands he vouchſafed to take from me: then began he to inquire how his Brother Sir *Thomas Dale* fared, after that of his daughters welfare, her mariage, his vnknowne ſonne, and how they liked, liued and loued together: I reſolued him that his brother was very well, and his daughter ſo well content that ſhe would not change her life to returne and liue with him, whereat he laughed heartily, and ſaid he was very glad of it. Now proceede (ſaid he) to deliuer the cauſe of your vnexpected comming; I certified him my meſſage was priuate, to be deliuered to himſelfe, without the preſence of any, ſaue one of his Councellers, by name *Pepaſchicher*, one of my guides, who was acquainted with my buſineſſe, he inſtantly commanded all, both men and women out of the houſe, his two Queenes onely excepted, who vpon no occaſion whatſoeuer, may ſequeſter themſelues. Now (ſaid he) ſpeake on, and my ſelfe by my interpreter thus begun. Sir *Thomas Dale* your Brother, the principal commander of the Engliſh men, ſends you greeting of loue and peace, on his part inuiolable, and hath in teſtimonie thereof (by me ſent you a worthie preſent, *vid.* two large peeces of copper, fiue ſtrings of white and blew beades, fiue wodden combes, ten fiſh-hookes, and a paire of kniues, all which I deliuered him, one thing after another, that he might haue time to view each particular: He willed me alſo to certifie you, that when you pleaſed to ſend men, he would giue you a great grinding ſtone: my meſſage and gift hitherto pleaſed him, I proceeded thus. The bruite of the exquiſite perfection of your yongeſt daughter, being famous through all your territories, hath come to the hearing of your Brother Sir *Thomas Dale*, who for this purpoſe hath addreſſed me hi-

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ther, to intreate you by that brotherly friendſhip you make profeſſion of, to permit her (with me) to returne vnto him, partly for the deſire which himſelfe hath, and partly for the deſire her ſiſter hath to ſee her of whom, if fame hath not bin prodigall, as like enough it hath not, your brother (by your fauour) would gladly make his neereſt companion, wife and bedfellow (many times he would haue interrupted my ſpeech, which I intreated him to heare out, and then if he pleaſed to returne me anſwere) and the reaſon hereof is, becauſe being now friendly and firmely vnited together, and made one people (as he ſuppoſeth and beleeues) in the band of loue, he would make a naturall vnion betweene vs, principally becauſe himſelfe hath taken reſolution to dwel in your country ſo long as he liueth, and would therefore not only haue the firmeſt aſſurance hee may, of perpetuall friendſhip from you, but alſo hereby binde himſelfe thereunto.

When I had thus made an end of ſpeaking: the ſooner by his often interruption, I had no neede to require his anſwere; which readily, and with no leſſe grauity he returned thus.

I gladly accept your Kings ſalute of loue & peace, which while I liue I ſhall exactly, both my ſelfe and ſubiects maintaine and conſerue: his pledges thereof I receiue with no leſſe thankes, albeit they are not ſo ample; howbeit himſelfe a greater *Weroance*, as formerly Captaine *Newport*, whom I very well loue, was accuſtomed to gratefie me with. But to the purpoſe, my daughter whom my brother deſireth, I ſould within theſe few daies to be wife to a great *Weroance* for two buſhels of *Roanoake* (a ſmall kinde of beades) made of oyſterſhels, which they vſe and paſſe one to another, as we doe money (a cubites length valuing ſixe pence) and it is true ſhe is already gone with him,

three daies iorney from me. I replied that I knew his greatneſſe and power to be ſuch, that if he pleaſed heerein to gratifie his Brother hee might, reſtoring the *Roanoake* without the imputation of Iniuſtice, take hoame his daughter againe, the rather becauſe ſhe was not full twelue yeeres old, and therefore not marriageable: aſſuring him beſide the band of peace, ſo much the firmer he ſhould haue treble the priſe of his daughter, in beades, Copper, Hatchets and many other things more vſefull for him? his anſwere hereunto was, that he loued his daughter as deere as his owne life, and though he had many Children, he delighted in none ſo much as in her, whom if he ſhould not often beholde, he could not poſſibly liue, which ſhe liuing with vs he knew he could not, hauing with himſelfe reſolued vpon no termes whatſoeuer to put himſelfe into our hands, or come amongſt vs, and therefore intreated me to vrge that ſuite no further, but returne his brother this anſwer.

I deſire no firmer aſſurance of his friendſhip, then his promiſe which he hath already made vnto mee; from me, he hath a pledge, one of my daughters, which ſo long as ſhe liues ſhall be ſufficient, when ſhe dieth he ſhall haue another childe of mine, but ſhe yet liueth: I holde it not a brotherly part of your King, to deſire to bereaue me of two of my children at once; further giue him to vnderſtand, that if he had no pledge at all he ſhould not neede to diſtruſt any iniurie from me, or any vnder my ſubiection, there haue bin too many of his men and my killed, and by my occaſion there ſhall neuer bee more, I which haue power to performeit, haue ſaid it: no not though I ſhould haue iuſt occaſion offered, for I am now olde, and would gladly end my daies in peace, ſo as if the Engliſh offer me iniury, my country is large enough, I will remoue my ſelfe farther from you. Thus much

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I hope will satisfie my brother. Now because your selues are wearie, and I sleepie, we will thus end the discourse of this businesse. Then called he one of his men, and willed him to get some bread for vs, himselfe the meane while telling vs that they not expecting our comming, as vsually they doe eate vp all their other victuals, presently the bread was brought in two great wodden bouls, the quantity of a bushel sod breade made vp round, of the bignesse of a tenise ball, whereof we eate some few, and disposed the rest to many of his hungrie guarde which attended about vs: when we had eaten he caused to be fetched a great glasse of sacke, some three quarts or better, which Captain *Newport* had giuen him sixe or seauen yeeres since, carefully preserued by him, not much aboue a pint in all this time spent, and gaue each of vs in a great oister shell some three spoonefuls; and so giuing order to one of his people to appoint vs a house to lodge in, tooke his leaue for that night, and we departed. We had not bin halfe an houre in the house before the fleas began so to torment vs that wee could not rest there, but went forth, and vnder a broade oake, vpon a mat reposed our selues that night no sooner were we awakt and vp in the morning, but *Powhatan* himselfe came to vs, and asked vs how we fared, and immediatly led vs to his house, where was prouided for our breakefast a great bole of *Indian* pease and beanes boyled together, and as much bread as might haue sufficed a dosen hungry men, about an houer after boyled fresh fish, and not long after that roasted Oysters, Creuises and Crabbes: his men in this time being abroade a hunting some venison, others Turkeis and such like beasts and foule as their woods afforde, who returned before ten of the clocke with three does and a bucke, very good and fat venison, and two great cocke Turkeis, all which

were dreſſed that day, and ſupper ended, ſcarce a bone to be ſeene.

Whiles I yet remained there, by great chaunce came an Engliſh man thither, almoſt three yeeres before that time ſurpriſed, as he was at worke neere *Fort Henrie*, one *William Parker* growen ſo like both in complexion and habite to the *Indians*, that I onely knew him by his tongue to be an Engliſhman, he ſeemed very ioyfull ſo happily to meete me there. Of him when we often inquired, the *Indians* euer tolde vs that he fell ſicke and died, which till now we beleeued: he intreated me to vſe my beſt indeuours to procure his returne, which thing I was purpoſed ſoone as I knew him, and immediately went with him to *Powhatan*, and tolde him that we credibly beleeued that he was dead, but ſince it was otherwiſe I muſt needes haue him home, for my ſelfe of neceſſitie muſt acquaint his brother that I had ſeene him there: who if he returned not, would make another voyage thither purpoſely for him: *Powhatan* ſeemed very much diſcontent, and thus replied. You haue one of my daughters with you, and I am therewith well content, but you can no ſooner ſee or know of any Engliſh mans being with me, but you muſt haue him away, or elſe breake peace and friendſhip: If you muſt needes haue him, he ſhal goe with you, but I will ſend no guides along with you, ſo as if any ill befall you by the way, thanke your ſelues. I anſwered, that rather then I would goe without him, I would goe alone, the way I knew well enough, and other daungers I feared not, ſince if I returned not ſafely, he muſt expect our reuenge vpon him and his people, giuing him further to know, that his brother our king might haue iuſt occaſion to diſtruſt his loue to him, by his ſlight reſpect of me, if he returned mee home without guides. He replied not hereunto, but

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in passion and discontentment from me, not till supertime speaking any more vnto me: when sending for me, he gaue me share of such cates as were for himselfe prouided, and as good aspect and countenance as before; but not a word concerning my returne, till himselfe at midnight comming to me, and the boy where we lay awaked vs, and tolde me that *Pepaschechar* and another of his men, in the morning should accompany vs home, earnestly requesting me to remember his brother to send him these particulars. Ten peeces of Copper, a shauing knife, an iron frow to cleaue bordes, a grinding stone, not so bigge but four or fiue men may carry it, which would be bigge enough for his vse, two bone combes, such as Captaine *Newport* had giuen him; the wodden ones his own men can make: an hundred fish-hookes or if he could spare it, rather a fishing saine, and a cat, and a dogge, with which things if his brother would furnish him, he would requite his loue with the returne of skinnes: wherewith he was now altogether vnfurnished (as he tolde me) which yet I knew hee was well stored with, but his dispolition mistrustfull and ielous, loues to be on the surer hand.

Whē he had deliuered this his message, he asked me if I will remembred euery paticular, which I must repeat to him for his assurance, & yet still doubtful that I might forget any of them, he bade me write them downe in such a Table book as he shewed me, which was a very fair one, I desired him, it being of no vse to him, to giue it mee: but he tolde me, it did him much good to shew it to strangers which came vnto him: so in mine owne Table booke, I wrot downe each particular, and he departed.

In the morning, himselfe and wee were timely stirring to be gone: to breakefast first we went, with a good boyled Turkie, which ended, he gaue vs a

whole Turkie, besides that we left, and three baskets of bread to carry vs home, and when we were ready to depart, hee gaue each of vs an excellent Bucks skin, very well dressed, and white as snow, and sent his sonne and daughter each of them one, demaunding if I well remembred his answer to his brother, which I repeated to him: I hope (said he) this will giue him good satisfaction, if it doe not? I will goe three daies iourny farther from him, and neuer see *English* man more: if vpon any other occasion hee send to me again, I will gladly entertain his missiues, and to my powre accomplish his iust requests: and euen thus himselfe conducting vs to the water side, he tooke leaue of vs, and we of him: and about ten of the clock the next night after, we were come to the *Bermudas*. This discourse I haue briefely as I could, and as the matter would permit, the rather related, to make knowne, how charie *Powhatan* is, of the conseruation of peace, a thing much desired, and I doubt not right welcom newes, to the vndertakers heer) as may appeare by his answeres to my requests, and also by my safe passage thither, & homwards, without the left shew of iniury offred vnto vs, though diuers times by the way, many stragliug Indians met vs, which in former times, would gladly haue taken so faire occasion to worke their mischiefe and bloody designes vpon vs. By all which, as likewise by our forward progression in our affaires, I hope such good successe and benefit to bee speedily reaped, that my selfe, though I blesse GOD for it, who hath so prouided for me, that I may liue more happily heere, then many who are fearefull to aduenture thither) could euen willingly make a third voyage thither if by my poore endeauours the businesse might receiue the least furtherance. God, (I hope) will raise vp meanes beyond mans imagination,

tion, to perfect his owne glory and honour, in the conuersion of those people, of whom vndoubtedly, (as in all other parts in the world, he hath predestinated some to eternall saluation. and blessed shall those be that are the instruments thereof) I hope this poor Narration will moue euery honest heart, to put his helping hand thereunto. For my part, as I haue been fiue yeers a personall workeman in that building, so shall I euer, as my meanes may permit me, be ready to offer my mite towards the furnishing of others, and againe (if need require) personall labor therein.

To the Reader.

THere be two properties especially remarkeable, which should moue all men earnestly and constantly, with all their meanes and endeuour, to desire the atchieuing of any thing, and bringing of the same vnto perfection: first the worth and excellencie: secondly the durableneſſe and continuance thereof. For as that thing which is not durable, by reason of fragilitie and fugacitie, is not vsually esteemed of men, though it be excellent: so that likewise which is not precious, is worthely little regarded, though it be neuer so durable. Now the Virginian plantation hath both these notable properties, if at the least we will, and impeach them not our selues; for what is more excellent, more precious and more glorious, then to conuert a heathen Nation from worshipping the diuell, to the saiuing knowledge, and true worship of God in Christ Iesus? what more praiseworthy and charitable, then to bring a sauage people from barbarisme vnto ciuilitie? what more honourable vnto our country, then to reduce a farre disioyned forraigne nation, vnder the due obedience of our dread Soueraigne the Kings Maiestie? what more conuenient then to haue good seates abroade for our euer flowing multitudes of people at home? what more profitable then to purchase great wealth, which most now adaies gape after ouer-greedily? All which benefits are assuredly to bee had and obtained, by well and plentifully vpholding of the plantation in Virginia. And for the durableneſſe of all these

these great and singular blessings, there can (by Gods assistance) be no doubt at all made, if mens hearts vnto whom God hath lent abilitie) were but inlarged cheerefully to adventure and send good companies of honest industrious men thither with a mind to inlarge Christs *kingdome: for then will God assuredly maintaine his owne cause. But alas, as there was never yet any action so good, so honourable, so glorious, so pious and so profitable, but hath had checkes and discouragements, both by open enemies abroade, and intestine adversaries at home with in it owne bowels: euen so may I truely say, hath this most glorious, most honourable, most pious and most profitable enterprise had. For as of old, when* Zerubbabell, Ezra *and* Nehemia *returned from* Babell, *by allowance of the king of* Persia *to* Ierusalem, *and began to repaire the walles thereof, and to restore Gods seruice, there wanted not a* Sanballat *and others to say:* what doe these weake Iewes? will they fortifie themselues? *will they sacrifice? will they finish it in a day?* Noe, *for* although they builde, yet if a fox goe vp, he shall euen breake downe that stony wall, *Euen so deale many* Sanballates *and* Tobiahes, *forraigne and domesticall enemies of this most religious worke: yea there be many who will not seeme enemies thereunto, but yet will neither further the businesse themselues, no not according to their owne ingagements which in conscience and credite they ought) nor quietly suffer others that otherwise would, but discourage them therin all they may som saying as* Iudah *once did.* The strength of the bearers is weakned, and there is much earth, so as we are not able to builde the wall. *Som saying with the vnfaithfull* Spies, *sent forth to search the land of* Canaan: The land wee went through to search it out, is a land that eateth vp the inhabitants thereof, for all the people we saw in it are strong, and men of great stature: *yea and some others say, there is much already expended, and yet no*

profit ariseth, neither is there victuals to be had, for the preseruing of life and soule together. But oh my deere countrie-men, be not so farre bewitched herewith as to be still discouraged thereat for those that bring a vilde slaũder vpon this action, may die by a plague before the Lord, as those men did: but rather remembring your auncient worth, renowne, valour and bounty, harken vnto Caleb *and* Iosua, *who stilled the peoples mourning: saying,* Let vs goe vp at once and possesse it, for vndoubtedly we shall ouercome it; *yet not so much now by force of armes as the* Israelites *did then by warrant from God (nor by vtterly destroying of them, as some haue cruelly done since) as by gentlenesse, loue, amity and* Religion. *As for profit it shall come abundantly, if we can with the husband-man, but freely cast our corne into the ground, and with patience waite for a blessing. And of victuals, there is now no complaint at all, and that which was hapned by the meere lasie negligence of our owne people.*

Now to the end that you may the better perceiue these things to be true, & be thereby the more animated cheerefully to goe forward in the vpholding of this holy worke, I will no longer detaine you from the perusall of some Calebs *and* Iosuahs *faithfull reports (writ there in Iune last this present yeere* 1614. *and sent hither by the last shippe that came thence) for further incouragement to put hereunto speedily & plentifully your helping hands with al alacrity: As for thẽ that are able, & yet wil not further, but indaunger the vtter ruining of this so glorious a cause (by their miserablenesse (being without loue and charitie) to the great dishonour of* God, *and our Countries perpetuall shame should it now sinke, and fall to the gonnd: I leaue them to him that made them, to dispose of them according to his infinite wisdome. And so come to the letters themselues: the first and chiefest whereof is from Sir* Thomas Dale, Marshall and Gouernour of Virginia, *vnto a* Minister *of London.*

To

To the R. and my most esteemed friend Mr. D. M. at his house at F. Ch. in London.

RIght Reuerend Sr. by Sr. Thomas Gates *I wrot vnto you, of such occasions as then presented themselues, and now again by this worthy Gentleman Captaine* Argall *I salute you: for such is the reuerend regard I haue of you, as I cannot omit any occasion to expres the sincere affection I beare you. You haue euer giuen me encouragements to perseuer in this religious* Warfare, *vntill your last Letters; not for that you are now lesse well affected thereunto: but because you see the* Action *to bee in danger by many of their non performances who vnder tooke the businesse. I haue vndertaken, and haue as faithfully, & with all my might indeauored the prosecution with all allacrity, as God that knoweth the heart, can beare me record, what recompence, or what rewards, by whom, or when I know not where to expect; but from him in whose* vineyard *I labor, whose* Church *with greedy appetite I desire to erect. My glorious master is gone, that would haue ennamelled* Prince Henry *with his fauours the labours I vndertake, for* Gods cause, *and his* immortall *honour. He was the great* Captaine *of our* Israell, *the hope to haue builded vp this heauenly new* Ierusalem *he interred (I think) the whole frame of this businesse, fell into his graue: for most mens forward (at least seeming so) desires are quenched, and* Virginia *stands in desperate hazard.*

You there doe your duties, I will no way omit mine, the time I promised to labour, is expired: it is not a yoke of Oxen hath drawn me from this feast: it is not the marriage of a wife maks me hast home, though that sallat giue an appetite to cause me returne. But I haue more care of the Stock, *then to set it vpon a die, and rather put my selfe to the curtesie of noble & worthy censures then ruine this worke; and haue a* iury (*nay a million*) *of foule mouthed detracters, scan vpon my endeauours, the ends whereof they cannot diue into. You shall briefely vnderstand, what hath betide since my last, and how we now stand, and are likely to grow to perfection, if we be not altogether neglected, my stay grounded vpon such reason, as had I now returned, it would haue hazarded the ruine of all.*

Sir Thomas Gates *hauing imbarqued himselfe for* England, *I put my selfe into Captaine* Argalls *ship, with a hundred and fifty men in my frigot, and other boats went into* Pamaunkie *riuer, where* Powhatan *hath his residence, and can in two or three daies, draw a thousand men together, with me I carried his daughter, who had been long prisoner with vs, it was a day or two before we heard of them: At length they demaunded why we came; I gaue for answere that I came to bring him his daughter, conditionally he would (as had been agreed vpon for her ransome) render all the armes, tooles, swords, and men that had runne away, and giue me a ship full of corne, for the wrong he had done vnto vs: if they would doe this, we would be friends, if not burne all. They demaun-*

maunded time to ſend to their King; I aſſented, I taking, they receiuing two pledges, to carrie my meſſage to Powhatan. All night my two men lay not far from the water ſide, about noon the next day they told them the great King was three daies iourney off, that Opochankano was hard by, to whom they would haue had them deliuer their meſſage, ſaying, that what he agreed vpon and did, the great King would confirme. This Opocankano is brother to Powhatan, and is his and their chiefe Captaine: and one that can as ſoone (if not ſooner) as Powhatan commaund the men. But my men refuſed to doe my meſſage vnto any ſaue Powhatan, ſo they were brought back, and I ſent theirs to them, they told me that they would fetch Simons to me, who had thrice plaid the runnagate, whoſe lies and villany much hindred our trade for corne: But they delayed vs, ſo as we went a ſhore they ſhot at vs, we were not behinde hand with them, killed ſome, hurt others, marched into the land, burnt their houſes, tooke their corne, and quartered all night aſhore.

The next day we went further vp the riuer, they dogged vs and called to know whither we went; wee anſwered, to buy neall, if they would not doe as we demaunded, and had been agreed vpon. They would they ſaid, bring all the next day. ſo wee forbare all hoſtility, went aſhore, their men in good numbers comming among ſt vs. but we were very cautious, & ſtood to our armes. The Kings daughter went aſhore, but would not talke to any of them ſcarce to them of of the beſt ſort, and to them onely, that if her father had

had loued her, he would not value her lesse then olde swords, peeces, or axes: wherefore she would stil dwel with the English men, who loued her. At last came one from Powhatan, who tould vs, that Simons was run away, to Nonsowhaticond, which was a truth, as afterwards appeared, but that the other English man was dead, that proued a lie: for since, Mr. Hamor, whom I employed to Powhatan brought him to me, our peeces, swords, and tooles within fifteen daies, should be sent to Iames towne, with some corne, and that his daughter should be my childe, and euer dwell vvith mee, desiring to be euer friends, and named such of his people, and neighbour Kings, as he desired to be included, and haue the benefit of the peace, promising if any of our men came to him, vvithout leaue from me, he would send them back: and that if any of his men stole from vs, or killed our cattel, he vvould send them to vs to bee punished as vve thought fit. With these conditions we returned, and vvithin the time limited, part of our Arms vvere sent, and 20. men vvith corne, and promised more, vvhich he hath also sent. Opachankano desired I vvould call him friend, and that he might call me so, saying he vvas a great Captaine, and did alwaies fight: that I vvas also a great Captaine, and therefore he loued mee; and that my friends should be his friends. So the bargain vvas made, and euery eight or ten daies, I haue messages and presents from him, vvith many apparances that he much desireth to continue friendshippe.

Nowv may you iudge Sir, if the God of battailes haue not a helping hand in this, that hauing our swords,

swords drawn, killing their men, burning their houses, and taking their corne: yet they tendred vs peace, and striue with all allacrity to keep vs in good oppinion of them; by which many benefits arise vnto vs. First, part of our Armes, disgracefully lost long agoe, (kept by the Sauages as Monuments and Trophies of our shames) redeliuered, some repaire to our honor. Our catle to increase, without danger of destroying, our men at liberty, to hunt freely for venison, to fish, to doe any thing else, or goe any whither, without danger; to follow the husbanding of their corne securely, whereof we haue aboue fiue hundred Acres set, and God be praised, in more forwardnesse, then any of the Indians, that I haue seene, or heard off this yeere, roots, and hearbs we haue in abundance; all doubt of want is by Gods blessing quite vanished, and much plenty expected. And which is not the least materiall, we may by this peace, come to discouer the countrey better, both by our own trauells, and by the relation of the Sauages, as we grow infamiliarity with them,

Powhatans daughter I caused to be carefully instructed in Christian Religion, who after shee had made some good progresse therein, renounced publickly her countrey Idolatry, openly confessed her Christian faith, was, as she desired, baptised, and is since married to an English Gentleman of good vnderstanding, (as by his letter vnto me, containing the reasons for his marriage of her you may perceiue) an other knot to binde this peace the stronger. Her Father, and friends gaue approbation to it, and her Vncle gaue her

her to him in the Church: she liues ciuilly and louingly with him, and I trust will increase in goodnesse, as the knowledge of God increaseth in her. She will goe into England with me, and were it but the gayning of this one soule, I will thinke my time, toile, and present stay well spent.

Since this accident the Gouernours and people of Checkahomanies, *who are fiue hundred bow-men, and better, a stout and warlike Nation, haue made meanes to haue vs come vnto them, and conclude a peace, where all the Gouernours would meete me. They hauing thus three or foure times importuned mee, I resolued to goe; so taking Captain* Argall, *with fifty men in my frigot, and barge I vvent thither: Captaine* Argall *with forty men landed, I kept aboord for some reasons. Vpon the meeting they tould Captain* Argall *they had longed to be friends, that they had no* King, *but eight great men, who gouernd them. He tould them that we came to be friends, asked them if they would haue* King Iames *to be their* King, *& whether they would be his men? They after som conference between themselues, seemed willing of both, demaunding if we would fight against their enemies, he tould them that if any did them iniurie, they should send me word, and I would agree them, or if their aduersaries would not, then I would let them haue as many men as they would to help them: they liked well of that, and tould him that all their men should helpe vs. All this being agreed vpon,* C. Argall *gaue euery* Councellor a Tamahawk, *and a peece of Copper, which was kindly taken; they requested further, that if their*

their boats ſhould happen to meet with our boats, and that they ſaid they were the Chikahominy *Engliſhmen, and* King Iames *his men, we vvould let them paſſe: vve agreed vnto it, ſo that they pronounced them ſelues* Engliſh men, *and* King Iames *his men, promiſing within fifteen daies to come vnto* Iames *town to ſee me, and conclude theeſe conditions; euery bowman being to giue me as a* Tribute *to* King Iames *two meaſures of Corne euery harueſt, the two meaſures containing two buſhells and a halfe. and I to giue euery bowman a ſmall* Tamahawke, *and to euery* Counſeller *a ſuit of red cloath, vvhich did much pleaſe them. This people neuer acknowledged any* King, *before; no nor euer would acknowledge* Powhatan *for their* King, *a ſtout people they be, and a delicate ſeat they haue.*

Now Sir you ſee our conditions, you, and al worthy men may iudge, vvhether it vvould not be a griefe to ſee theſe faire hopes froſtbitten and theſe freſh budding plants to wither: which had I returned, had aſſuredly followed: for keer is no one that the people vvould haue to gouern them, but my ſelfe: for I had novv come away, had I not found a generall deſire in the beſt ſort to returne for England: *letter vpon letter, requeſt vpon requeſt from their friends to returne, ſo as I knew not vpon whom to conferre the care of this buſines in my abſence. whom I thought fitte was generally diſtaſted, ſo as ſeeing the eminent enſuing danger, ſhould I haue left this multitude, not yet fully refined, I am reſolued to ſtay till harueſt be got in, and then ſettle things according to my poor vnderſtanding, and returne: if in the interim there come no authoriſed Gouernour from* England.

Consider I pray you since things be brought to this passe, as you see, and that I should haue come away, if then through their factions, *humors, mutinies, or indiscretion of the* Chiefes *I had left behind, this should fall to ruine: I then should receiue the imputation; I incurre the blame for quitting the* Plantation, *although I might doe it both with my honour, my promised stay of time being expired, and hauing warrant from my* Soueraigne, *the* Kings Maiesty: *but the precedent reasons moued me and that this action of such price, such excellency, and assured profit to mine own knowledge should not die to the scorne of our* Nation, *and to giue cause of laughter to the Papists that desire our ruine. I can assure you, no countrey of the world affoordes more assured hopes of infinit riches, which both by mine own peoples discouery, & the relation of such* Sauages, *vnto whose fidelity we haue often found assured me.*

Oh why should so many Princes, *and noble men ingage themselues and therby intermedling herein, haue caused a number of soules transport themselues, and be transported hither? why should they (I say) relinquish this so glorious an* Action: *for if their ends bee to build God a* Church, *they ought to perseuer: if otherwise, yet their honour ingageth them to be constant. Howsoeuer they stand affected, heer is enough to content them, let their ends be either for* God, *or* Mammon.

These things haue animated me to stay for a little season, to leaue those, I am tied in conscience to returne vnto, to leaue the assured benefits of my other fortunes, the sweete society of my friends, and acquaintance, with all mundall delightes, and reside heer with much turmoile, which I will constantly doe, rather then see Gods glorie diminished, my King *and Coun*

trey

trey dishonoured, and these poore people, I haue the charge of ruined. And so I beseech you to answere for me, if you heare me taxed for my staying, as some may iustly do, and that these are my chiefe motiues God *I take to witnesse. Remember me, and the cause I haue in hand, in your daily meditations, and reckon me in the number of those that doe sincerely loue you and yours, and will euer rest in all offices of a friend, to doe you seruice.*

From Iames towne in Virginia
the 18 of Iune, 1614.

Thomas Dale.

To my verie deere and louing *Cosen* M. G. *Minister of the* B. F. in London.

SIr the Colony here is much better. Sir Thomas Dale *our religious and valiant Gouernour, hath now brought that to passe, which neuer before could be effected. For by warre vpon our enemies, and kinde vsage of our friends, he hath brought them to seeke for peace of vs, which is made, and they dare not breake. But that which is best, one* Pocahuntas *or* Matoa *the daughter of* Powhatan, *is married to an honest and discreete English Gentleman Maister* Rolfe, *and that after she had openly*

renounced her countrey Idolatry, confessed the faith of Iesus Christ, and vvas baptised; vvhich thing Sir Thomas Dale had laboured along time to ground in her.

Yet notvvithstanding, are the vertuous deeds of this vvorthy Knight, much debased, by the letters vvhich some vvicked men haue vvritten from hence, and especially by one C. L. If you heare any condemne this noble Knight, or doe feare to come hither, for those slaunderous letters, you may vpon my vvord bouldly reproue them. You knovv that no malefactors can abide the face of the Iudge, but themselues scorning to be reproued, doe prosecute vvithall hatred, all those that labour their amendment. I maruaile much that any men of honest life, should feare the sword of the magistrate, which is vnsheathed onely in their defence.

But I much more muse, that so fevv of our English Ministers that vvere so hot against the Surplis and subscription: come hither vvhere neither spoken of. Doe they not either vvilfully hide their Tallents, or keepe themselues at home for feare of loosing a fevv pleasures? Be there not any amongst them of Moses his minde, and of the Apostles, that forsooke all to follovv Christ? But I referre them to the Iudge of all hearts, and to the King that shall reward euery one according to the gaine of his Tallent. But you my cosen, holde fast that vvhich you haue, and I though my promise of 3 yeers seruice to my country be expired, vvill abide in my vocation

here

here vntill I be lawfully called from hence. And ſo betaking vs all vnto the mercies of God in Chriſt Ieſus, I reſt for euer.

Virginia Iune 18. 1614.

Your moſt deere and louing coſen
Alex. Whitakers.

The coppie of the Gentle-mans letters to Sir *Thomas Dale*, that after maried *Powhatans daughter*, containing the reaſons mouing him thereunto.

HOnourable Sir, and moſt worthy Gouernor: vvhen your leaſure ſhall beſt ſerue you to peruſe theſe lines, I truſt in God, the beginning vvill not ſtrike you into a greater admiration, then the end vvill giue you good content. It is a matter of no ſmall moment, concerning my own particular which here I impart vnto you, and vvhich toucheth mee ſo neerely, as the tenderneſſe of my ſaluation. Howbeit I freely ſubiect my ſelfe to your graue and mature iudgement, deliberation, approbation and determination; aſſuring my ſelfe of your zealous admonitions, and godly comforts, either perſwading me to deſiſt, or incouraging me to perſiſt ther in, with a religious feare and godly care for which (from the very inſtant, that this began to roote it ſelfe, vvithin the ſecret boſome of my breſt) my daily and earneſt praiers haue bin, ſtill are, and euer ſhall bee pro-

ed forthwith, as sincere, a godly zeale, as I possiblely may to be directed, aided and gouerned in all my thoughts, vvords and deedes, to the glory of God, and for myeternal consolation. To perseuere vvherein I neuer had more neede, nor (till nowv) could euer imagine to haue bin moued vvith the like occasion.

But (my case standing as it doth) vvhat better vvorldly refuge can I here seeke, then to shelter my selfe vnder the safety of your fauourable protections? And did not my ease proceede from an vnspotted conscience, I should not dare to offer to your vievv and aprroued iudgement, these passions of my troubled soule, so full of feare and trembling is hypocrisie and dissimulation. But knowving my owne innocency & godly feruor, in the vvhole prosecution hereof, I doubt not of your benigne acceptance, and clement construction. As for malicious deprauers, & turbulet spirits, to whom nothing is tastful, but what pleaseth their vnsauory pallat, I passe not for them being vvell assured in my perswasion (by the often triall and prouing of my selfe, in my holiest meditations and praiers) that I am called hereunto by the spirit of God; and it shall be sufficient for me to be protected by your selfe in all vertuous and pious indeuours. And for my more happie proceeding herein, my daily oblations shall euer be addressed to bring to passe so good effects, that your selfe, and all the vvorld may truely say: This is the worke of God, and it is marueious in our eies.

But to auoide tedious preambles, and to come neerer

neerer the matter: firſt ſuffer me with your patience, to ſweepe and make cleane the way wherein I walke, from all ſuſpicions and doubts, which may be couered therein, and faithfully to reueale vnto you, what ſhould moue me hereunto.

Let therefore this my well aduiſed proteſtation, which here I make betweene God and my own conſcience, be a ſufficient witneſſe, at the dreadfull day of iudgement (when the ſecret of all mens harts ſhall be opened) to condemne me herein, if my chiefeſt intent and purpoſe be not, to ſtriue with all my power of body and minde, in the vndertaking of ſo mightie a matter, no way led (ſo farre forth as mans weakneſſe may permit) with the vnbridled deſire of carnall affection: but for the good of this plantation for the honour of our countrie, for the glory of God, for my owne ſaluation, and for the conuerting to the true knowledge of God and Ieſus Chriſt, an vnbeleeuing creature, namely Pokahuntas. To whom my harte and beſt thoughts are, and haue a long time bin ſo intangled, and inthralled in ſo intricate a laborinth, that I was euen awearied to vnwinde my ſelfe thercout. But almighty God, who neuer faileth his, that truely inuocate his holy name, hath opened the gate, and led me by the hand that I might plainely ſee and diſcerne the ſafe paths wherein to treade.

To you therefore (moſt noble Sir) the patron and Father of vs in this countrey doe I vtter the effects of this my ſetled and long continued affection (which

(which hath made a mightie warre in my meditations) and here I doe truely relate, to what issue this dangerous combate is come vnto, wherein I haue not onely examined, but throughle tried and pared my thoughts euen to the quicke, before I could finde any fit wholesome and apt applications to cure so daungerous an vlcer. I neuer failed to offer my daily and faithfull praiers to God, for his sacred and holy assistance. I forgot not to set before mine eies the frailty of mankinde, his prones to euill, his indulgencie of wicked thoughts, with many other imperfections wherein man is daily insnared, and oftentimes ouerthrowne, and them compared to my present estate. Nor was I ignorant of the heauie displeasure which almightie God conceiued against the sonnes of Leuie and Israel for marrying strange wiues, nor of the inconueniences which may thereby arise, with other the like good motions which made me looke about warily and with good circumspection into the grounds and principall agitations, which thus should prouoke me to be in loue with one whose education hath bin rude, her manners barbarous, her generation accursed, and so discrepant in all nurture from my selfe, that oftentimes with feare and trembling, I haue ended my priuate controuersie with this: surely these are wicked instigations, hatched by him who seeketh and delighteth in mans destruction; and so with feruent praiers to be euer preserued from such diabolical assaults (as I tooke those to be) I haue taken some rest.

Thus

Thus when I had thought I had obtained my peace and quietneſſe, beholde another, but more gracious tentation hath made breaches into my holieſt and ſtrongeſt meditations; with which I haue bin put to a new triall, in a ſtraighter manner then the former: for beſides the many paſſions and ſufferings, which I haue daily, hourely, yea and in my ſleepe indured, euen awaking mee to aſtoniſhment, taxing me with remiſneſſe, and careleſneſſe, refuſing and neglecting to performe the duetie of a good Chriſtian, pulling me by the eare, and crying: why doſt not thou indeuour to make her a Chriſtian? And theſe haue happened to my greater wonder, euen when ſhe hath bin ſurtheſt ſeperated from me, which in common reaſon (were it not an vndoubted worke of God) might breede forgetfulneſſe of a farre more worthie creature. Beſides, I ſay the holy Ghoſt of God hath often demaunded of me, why I was created? If not for tranſitory pleaſures and worldly vanities, but to labour in the Lords vineyard, there to ſow and plant, to nouriſh and increaſe the fruites thereof, daily adding with the good husband in the Goſpell, ſomewhat to the tallent, that in the end the fruites may be reaped, to the comfort of the laborer in this life, and his ſaluation in the world to come? And if this be, as vndoubtedly this is, the ſeruice Ieſus Chriſt requireth of his beſt ſeruant; woe vnto him that hath theſe inſtruments of pietie put into his hands, and wilfully deſpiſeth to worke with them. Likewiſe, adding hereunto her great appa-

rance of loue to me, her desire to be taught and instructed in the knowledge of God, her capablenesse of vnderstanding, her aptnesse and willingnesse to receiue anie good impression, and also the spirituall, besides her owne incitements stirring me vp hereunto.

What should I doe? shall I be of so vntoward a disposition, as to refuse to leade the blind into the right way? Shall I be so vnnaturall, as not to giue bread to the hungrie? or vncharitable, as not to couer the naked? Shall I despise to actuate these pious dueties of a Christian? Shall the base feare of displeasing the world, ouerpower and with-holde mee from reuealing vnto man these spirituall workes of the Lord, which in my meditations and praiers, I haue daily made knowne vnto him? God forbid. I assuredly trust hee hath thus delt with me for my eternall felicitie, and for his glorie: and I hope so to be guided by his heauenly grace, that in the end by my faithfull paines, and christianlike labour, I shall attaine to that blessed promise, Pronounced by that holy Prophet Daniell *vnto the righteous that bring many vnto the knowledge of God. Namely, that they shall shine like the starres foreuer and euer. A sweeter comfort cannot be to a true Christian, nor a greater incouragement for him to labour all the daies of his life, in the performance thereof, nor a greater gaine of consolation, to be desired at the hower of death, and in the day of iudgement.*

Againe

Againe by my reading, and conference with honest and religious persons, haue I receiued no small encouragement, besides serena mea conscientia, *the cleerenesse of my conscience, clean from the filth of impurity,* quæ est instar muri ahenei, *which is vnto me, as a brasen wall. If I should set down at large, the perturbations & godly motions, which haue striuen within mee, I should but make a tedious & vnnecessary volume. But I doubt not these shall be sufficient both to certifie you of my true intents, in discharging of my dutie to God, & to your selfe, to whose gracious prouidence I humbly submit my selfe, for his glory, your honour, our Countreys good, the benefit of this Plantation, and for the converting of one vnregenerate, to regeneration; which I beseech God to graunt, for his deere Sonne Christ Iesus his sake.*

Now if the vulgar sort, who square all ment actions by the base rule of their own filthinesse, shall taxe or taunt me in this my godly labour: let them know, it is not any hungry appetite, to gorge my selfe with incontinency; sure (if I would, and were so sensually inclined) I might satisfie such desire, though not without a feared conscience, yet with Christians more pleasing to the eie, and lesse fearefull in the offence vnlawfully committed. Nor am I in so desperate an estate, that I regard not what becommeth of mee; nor am I out of hope but one day to see my Country, nor so void of friends, nor meane in birth, but there to obtain a mach to my great con-

tent: nor haue I ignorantly paſſed ouer my hopes there, or regardleſly ſeek to looſe the loue of my friends, by taking this courſe: I know them all, and haue not raſhly ouerſlipped any.

But ſhal it pleaſe God thus to diſpoſe of me (which I earneſtly deſire to fullfill my ends before ſette down) I will heartely accept of it, as a godly taxe appointed me, and I will neuer ceaſe, (God aſſiſting me) vntill I haue accompliſhed, & brought to perfection ſo holy a vvorke, in which I will daily pray God to bleſſe me, to mine, and her eternall happines. And thus deſiring no longer to liue, to enioy the bleſsings of God, then this my reſolution doth tend to ſuch godly ends, as are by me before declared: not doubting of your fauourable acceptance, I take my leaue, beſeeching Almighty God to raine downe vpon you, ſuch plenitude of his heauenly graces, as your heart can wiſh and deſire, and ſo I reſt,

At your commaund moſt willing
to be diſpoſed off

Iohn Rolfe.

Virginia therefore ſtanding now in ſuch a goodly proportion, and faire forwardneſſe of thriuing, as it was neuer yet hitherto ſeen in, ſince it began to be firſt planted: cannot but ſoone come to perfection, to the exceeding great comfort of all well affected Chriſtians,

Christians, and no small profit of the planters, and aduenturers: if it be well seconded and supplyed, with a good number of able men: Wherefore, let none bee hereafter vnwilling all they may to further this most honourable Action, and be forward to vphold and support it from falling, by their speech, and countenance, and freely aduenturing thither, both in their persons, & also by their purses, as God hath inabled them. To conclude, as *Azariah* sayd once to King *Azah*, *Iuda*, and *Beniamin*, so say I vnto all. *Bee yee strong therefore, and let not your hands be weake: for your worke shall haue a reward.* And as the holy Apostle said to the Corinthians, *Be ye therefore stedfast, vnmoueable, abundant alwaies in the vvorkes of the Lord, for as much as ye know your labour is not in vaine in the Lord; let vs not therefore bee vvearie of vvelldoing:* for in due season, *vvee shall reape*, if wee faint not as the Apostle tolde the Galatians. Farewell.

FINIS.

Errata.

PAg. 5. line 33. hir. p. 10. l. 16. *Opechankano.* p. 15. l. 14. Weroance. p. 17. l. 22. manure. p. 17. l. 34. next to vs, read so as if. p. 18. l. 4. halfe. p. 18. l. 22. p. 28. l. 12. purposed. p. 21. l. 16. diuers. p. 21. l. 27 Saine. p. 22. l. 21. after *doth* read, not. p. 23. l. 13, leaue out, he. p. 24. l. 16, cure. p. 27. l. 24. bring. p. 25. l. 2. read immediatlie after by name, Coxendale; and after the word, *called*, read, Hope in faith. p. 31. l. 25. Somer. p. 42. l. 24. luring. p. 45. l. 1. read, after diseouragment, went. p. 46. l. 11. messengers. p. 47. l. 22. personally.

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